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THE

L I F E

OF

CATHARINE II.

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED,  
AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

*Nilil compositum miraculi causâ, verum audita scriptaque  
senioribus tradam.*

TACIT. ANN. LIB. XI.

by Jean Basté, transl. by  
Wm. Looke

THE SECOND EDITION,  
WITH CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENTS.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

**T**HIS work having reached, by the public favour, a second edition, the compiler could not let slip the opportunity thus afforded him, of giving it several considerable additions and improvements. To procure room for these, he was induced to abridge some particulars, which, however curious, were thought by good judges rather too circumstantial for a biographical history; as rendering the narrative, in the parts where they occurred, somewhat tedious, and better suited to a statistical survey. What, therefore, the reader has lost in respect to details on population, climate, hospitals, schools, &c. it is hoped he will find amply supplied by matter not less interesting, and certainly more entertaining.

У. Л. Я.

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## PRELIMINARIES.

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### SECTION I.

*Extent, Division, Population, and Revenue of the  
Russian Empire.*

**B**EFORE we enter on the principal subject of the present undertaking, it will be proper to furnish the reader with some general knowledge of the vast empire to which it so intimately relates.

Russia, in the year 1785, was reckoned to contain within its limits 110 degrees of longitude, and in its breadth 32 degrees; its superficies was about 305,000 german square miles\*, whereof 63,000 are in Europe, and 242,000 in Asia†.

\* A german mile is nearly six english miles.

† From Riga to the banks of the Oby in Kamtschatka are reckoned 11,000 versts, or 2200 leagues of 25 to a degree. Three versts make two english miles.

But this empire has been greatly extended since, by the conquest of a vast territory in the Crimea, by the dismemberment of Poland, and by the addition of Courland.

Russia actually occupies more than a seventh part of the known continent, and almost the twenty-sixth part of the whole globe. The greatest extent of Russia from west to east, viz. from the  $39\frac{1}{2}$  to  $207\frac{1}{2}$  degree of longitude, contains 168 degrees; and, if the islands of the eastern ocean be included, it will then contain 185 degrees: so that the continental length of Russia, viz. from Riga to Tchoukotskoy Nofs, the easternmost promontory, will constitute about 8500 versts. The greatest extent of this empire from north to south, that is, from the 78th to  $50\frac{1}{2}$  degree of latitude, contains 27 $\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. Hence the breadth of Russia, reckoning it from the cape Taymour, which is the north-eastern promontory, to Kiakta, will make about 3200 versts.

To reconcile Ebeling, Krome, Busching, and the other writers, on the population of Russia, this population was estimated in 1785 at 24,000,000 of inhabitants, whereof 20,000,000 are in Europe, and only 4,000,000 in Asia.

Hence it appears, that the mean term of the population of Russia, by the german square mile,



mile, is 78 inhabitants, but that there are 318 to the square mile in european Russia, and only 16 per square mile in asiatic Russia. Now this population seems very trifling in comparison with that of England and France; where it is calculated that there are 2500 inhabitants per square league, that is, nearly five-eighths of a german mile.

Towards the year 1785, Russia was divided into forty-three governments, containing in all about 540 towns, 193 whereof were built in the reign of Catharine II. At that period, the empress caused a new division of the empire to be made into vice-royalties, which have since her death been abolished by the emperor Paul.

According to the last revision, the population of Russia amounts to 26,000,000. But it is to be noticed that the nobility, clergy, land as well as sea forces, different officers, servants belonging to the court, persons employed under the government in civil and other offices; the students of universities, academies, seminaries, and other schools; hospitals of various denominations; likewise all the irregular troops, the roving hordes of different tribes, foreigners and colonists, or settlers of various nations; are not included in the above-mentioned number: but with the addition of all these, the population of

#### 4 EXTENT, DIVISION, POPULATION,

Russia, of both sexes, may be supposed to come near to 30,000,000.

The revenue of Russia is estimated at upwards of 40,000,000 of roubles. The expences in time of peace never exceed 38,000,000; the remainder is employed in constructing public edifices, making harbours, canals, roads, and other national works.

M. Hermann, in his book on this subject, in 1790, justly says, that the russian empire, in its present extent, contains a surface the like of which is not to be found in history. Neither the monarchy of Alexander the great, nor the old roman empire, nor the modern China, are equal to it in magnitude. It comprises about the seventh part of the firm land of our earth, is as large as the half of all Asia, and more than twice as big as Europe. Its superficies contains about 320,000 geographical square miles, or above 15,000,000 square versts, whereof 78,000 square miles belong to the european, and 242,000 square miles to the asiatic part. The two parts consist of 43 vice-royalties, the greatness whereof differs from 400 to 140,000 square miles. Their magnitude is determinable by an inverted ratio of their population; and in this regard they may be divided into three classes. The first includes the most populous;  
and

and consequently, according to the circuit of country, the smallest vice-royalties; which are, St. Petersburg, Viborg, Réval, Riga, Polotzk, Mohilef, Smolensk, Pleskof, Tver, Yaroslaf, Kastroma, Vlôdimir, Mosco, Kaluga, Tula, Ræsan, Tambof, Orel, Kursk, Voronetsh, Karkof, Novgorod-Seversk, Kief, Tschernigof, Pensa, Nishnei-Novgorod, Kasan, Simbirsck. In the second class follow the vice-royalties, whose circuit is considerably larger, but their population not greater, and partly is yet inferior, as, Olo-netz-Novgorod, Tavrida, Viætka; and in the third class, lastly, the most extensive, and therefore the proportionably least peopled, are to be placed: Archangel, Vologda, Katarinoslauf, Cæucasus, Saratof, Ufa, Permia, Tobolsk, Kolyvan, and Irkutsk.

If the difference among authors concerning the territorial extent of Russia be great, it is not less so in regard to its population. The author of the "*Essai sur le commerce de Russie, &c.*" Amst. 1777, admits it in general to be no more than 14,000,000. Voltaire gives the Russian empire for the latter years of the reign of Peter I. 18,000,000 of inhabitants, but which is certainly by between 3 and 4,000,000 too many. Marshall estimates the population at 18,000,000; Williams likewise, for 1768, sets it



down at only 18,000,000. M. Busching makes the population of Russia amount to 20,000,000; M. le Clerc states it at 19,000,000; and M. l'Eveque at 19,050,000; M. de Voltaire, M. Suffmilch, and professor Ebeling, about 24,000,000; professor Crome and the statistic tables printed at Prague, reckon 25,000,000; and professor Albaüm, for 1774, 22,000,000. In the historical porte-feuille, part ii. 1786, the population is marked at 27,000,000, and captain Plescheyef in his Obosrenie rossiskaia imperie, states it to be (but for the year 1782 undoubtedly too high) 30,000,000. M. de Beausobre, so early as the beginning of the year 1770, gives it at 30,000,000, a number which at that time was almost a third part too high. Mr. Coxe, on the other hand, states the population of the whole empire at 22,838,516 souls; which, for the time when he visited the country, was by far too little.

According to the census taken at several times, the increase of the population has appeared to be as follows:

In the year 1722	the number of people was	14,000,000
1742	-	16,000,000
1762	-	20,000,000
1782	-	28,000,000
1788	-	30,000,000

During

During the reign of Catharine II. then the empire has gained in population not less than 10,000,000, whereof, if we deduct (at the utmost) for the newly-acquired countries and colonists 3,000,000, there will still remain an increase of 7,000,000, arising from the annual surplus of births over the deaths.

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## SECTION II.

### *Of the Climate of Russia.*

**T**HE temperature of the air and the weather, in this prodigious empire, are as various as its circuit is extensive. It comprises many regions which enjoy the mildest sky and the purest air; but still more where the weather is extremely rude and cold; and several where the exhalations from the earth are not the most wholesome. The empire, in regard to its weather, and the productions of nature dependent upon it, may generally be divided into three grand departments: 1. The territory which lies above the 60th degree of north latitude, and extends to the 78th; 2. The territory lying between the 50th and the 60th degree of the same latitude;



and 3. The territory which lies more to the south than 50 degrees N. L. and extends southwards from the 50th to the 43d degree. The **FIRST** is the rudest and coldest. It contains the greater part of the governments of Irkutsk, Tobolsk, and Vologda: the whole of those of Archangel, Olonetz, and Viborg, with a part of the governments of Perme, Novgorod, and St. Petersburg. All these regions lie in a very cold climate, having a winter, especially Siberia, extremely severe. In Oustoug Velikiye, in the government of Vologda, situate 61 deg. N. L. and 15 deg. more to the north than Pe-<sup>*may*</sup>~~reborg~~, quicksilver froze in open air the 4th of November 1786, in a cold of  $30\frac{1}{2}$  degrees by Reaumur's thermometer; the 1st of December from 40 degrees; it fell the same day to 51, and the 7th of December even to 60 degrees. The quicksilver froze to a solid mass, on which several strokes of  $\nabla$  hammer were struck, before any parts fell off. In Krasnoyarsk, the quicksilver froze at 235 and 254 by de l'Isle. (Pallas, Travels, tom. iii. p. 419.) In Solikamsk, the same thermometer is said to have fallen in 1761 even to 280. The **SECOND** department, in regard to fertility, is called the temperate; in one half whereof, namely from the 55th to the 60th degree N. L. though the weather

weather is pretty severe and cold, it yet allows all the fruits of the field and many of the orchard to grow. In the other half, namely from the 50th to the 55th degree, the climate is much milder, and with the usual products yields still others, which in the former do not well succeed. The whole of this extensive, beautiful, and important territory of the russian empire comprehends the governments of St. Petersburg, Reval, Riga, Płotzk, Moghilef, Smolensk, Pleskof, Novgorod, Tver; Yaroslaf, Kostroma, Viatka, Perme, Kolyvan, a good part of Irkutsk and Oufa, the governments of Mosco, Vladimir, Nishney-Novgorod, Kazane, Kalouga, Toulá, Riazane, Voronetsh, Tambof, Pensá, Simbirsk, Koursk, Orel, Novgorod-Sieverisk, Tchernigof, and the greater part of Kief, Karkof, and Saratof. The THIRD department is the hot, in which products are common, *e. g.* wine and silk, which do not thrive at all in the former. In this lie Tavrida, Ekatarinofslaf, the greater part of Caucasus, with a part of Kief, Karkof, Voronetsh, Saratof, Kolyvan, and Irkutsk.

Tavrida possesses a very agreeable climate. The inhabitants, for three quarters of the year, enjoy fine and warm weather; and Nature here requires but three months at most to recreate her powers. The spring season commences here

*perhaps  
insupportable*

commonly with March; and from the middle of May to the middle of August generally the greatest heat prevails. This is usually so intense, that it rarely happens that winds do not continually blow from ten in the morning till six in the evening every day, which render it almost insupportable. Thunder and storms of rain are here also not unfrequent, whereby the air is refreshed. September and October are, generally speaking, the finest months. The autumnal weather comes on about the middle of November. The frost appears in December and January, but is very moderate; seldom lasting for more than two or three days. Here, however, it is to be remarked, that the level part of this country is in this circumstance to be distinguished from the mountainous; the heat and cold are commonly more intense in the former, and rain and snow less frequent. The air in all the regions of Tavrida, except some few places on the Sibash, are reckoned very healthy.—About Kursk, (in the Ukraine,) all sorts of fruit, arbouses\*, melons, and apples, are ripe in August; and the corn is already got in. The rivers freeze over at the end of November and in December; and in May they are again free from ice.

\* Water-melons.



These four several departments, so different from each other, should constantly be kept in view whenever we hear or read of the climate of the russian empire. Hence we see that there are governments which partake in the climate of two; others (for example, Kolyvan) of three; and the government of Irkutsk even of all the four. Whatever Nature produces in these parallels, Russia possesses or might possess; and therefore has advantages of which not one other european state can boast.

The high northern latitude of St. Petersburg, and its situation in a low, marshy, and woody flat, with many large rivers, render its climate cold, rude, and in many respects singular. The imperial academy of sciences has kept a meteorological account, from its foundation in 1725, of the weather of the place; and the freezing of the Neva has been regularly marked annually from the year 1718.

The frost and its effects are here remarkable. The number of frosty days is annually from 150 to 190; and their continuance and severity freezes the ground every winter from 2 to 2½ and sometimes above 3 feet deep; and the ice of the Neva is from 24 to 36, but generally 28 inches in thickness. Though this body is formed by sheets of ice gliding horizontally upon

upon each other, yet when large square blocks of it stand in the sun upon the ground in spring, they gradually fall to pieces in perpendicularly-standing spiculæ of the thickness of one's finger. Likewise in walking over the river in spring, while the ice is still thick, the walking-stick is easily pushed through the ice, by the stick pressing down some of the spiculæ out of their contiguity.

The covering of the Neva with ice, and the breaking-up of it, are remarkable phænomena. At first small distinct flakes of ice are seen floating on the surface, which soon increase into large sheets, of such momentum that the bridges must be removed in all haste to prevent their being carried away by the ice. These sheets of ice drive down the stream for a day or two; during which people pass in boats among them across the river, till at last the ice stops, or the sheets of ice freeze on one another. Immediately the river is passable on foot; and nothing is more common than to see boats rowing over, and in an hour or two afterwards foot-passengers walking to the other side in great numbers.

The breaking-up of the ice comes on as suddenly. In spring, at first the snow-water stands on the ice; then the ice becomes spongy, or parts in spikes, admits the water, and assumes a blackish

blackish hue. At length it gives way, but leaves the beaten roads still standing; in consequence of which foot-walkers are often seen upon the roads, and between them and the floating masses of ice, boats rowed in various directions. When at last the roads too break, the ice continues driving for a few days to the gulf, and the river appears with its clear and beautiful current. In a week or a fortnight afterwards the drift ice comes down from the Ladoga, and continues floating about with the wind for two or three days, making for the time the atmosphere uncommonly cold.

The ice and the cold are made serviceable in various ways. Distances are much shortened by their means, inasmuch as people, horses, and carriages of all sorts, and of ever so great burden, can cross the Neva, and the other rivers, lakes, and canals, in all places and directions: and the Cronstadt gulf supplies in some measure the want of navigating during the winter, by the transport of commodities of every denomination over the ice. As ice-cellars here are a necessary of life, for keeping provisions of all kinds during the summer, so every house in every quarter of the town is provided with one filled every year with large blocks of ice cut out of the river. This operation generally takes place about



about the beginning of February. The ice also administers to the pleasure of the inhabitants, by affording them an opportunity for the diversion of sledge and horse-racing, and for that of sliding down the ice-hills so much admired by the populace. The weight of these ice-hills, together with that of a multitude sometimes of 5000 or 6000 persons standing about them on holidays, give the spectator a surprising idea of the strength and solidity of the ice.

What may be executed in ice was shewn by the ice-palace which the empress Anna caused to be built on the bank of the Neva in 1740. It was constructed of huge quadrats of ice hewn in the manner of freestone. The edifice was 52 feet in length, 16 in breadth, and 20 in height. The walls were three feet thick. In the several apartments were tables, chairs, beds, and all kinds of household furniture, of ice. In front of the palace, besides pyramids and statues, stood six cannons carrying balls of six-pounds weight, and two mortars, of ice. From one of the former, as a trial, an iron ball, with only a quarter of a pound of powder, was fired off. The ball went through a two-inch board at 60 paces from the mouth of the cannon; and the piece of ice-artillery, with its lavette, remained uninjured by the explosion. The illumination

mination of the ice-palace at night had an astonishingly grand effect.

In and about Mosco the rivers freeze over in the middle or towards the latter end of November, old style ; and break up in March or the beginning of April. The buds of the birch-trees expand in May, and the trees shed their leaves in September.—The river Oural usually flows, near Gurief, free from ice about the beginning of March.

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The greatest degree of cold since the building of the city of St. Petersburg was, by Reaumur,  $32\frac{1}{2}$ , the 6th of January 1760.

The greatest heat, in the shade, was  $28\frac{1}{3}$  degrees, the 23d of July 1757, and the 5th of July 1758.

By taking the average of all the thermometrical observations made at the Imperial Academy of Sciences, it is found that the greatest cold happens in the month of January ; and that its mean intensity may be estimated at 22 degrees. Again, that the greatest heat falls in July ; and that its mean force is 23 degrees of Reaumur.



Months.	The mean intensity of the greatest cold.		The mean intensity of the greatest heat.		Mean cold of nights.		Mean heat of days.	
	Degrees.	Degrees.	Degrees.	Degrees.	Degrees.	Degrees.	Degrees.	Degrees.
Jan.	22	$\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	—	—	—	—
Feb.	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	—	—	—	—
March	14	7	7	1	—	—	—	—
April	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
May	* 1	19	—	—	—	5	—	10
June	* 6	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
July	* 9	23	—	—	—	12	—	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
August	* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	16
Sept.	* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	6	—	11
Oct.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	—	—	—	2	—	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nov.	11	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—
Dec.	18	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—

The mark \* signifies the degree of heat.

In turning over the pages of history, we come to passages where we almost stand astonished at the then climate of Germany, where, for instance, it is said: These countries northward beyond the Danube and the Rhine are covered with vast snows, so that they are uninhabitable from their almost perpetual winters. Virgil and Ovid would not have affirmed, that on the borders of the Danube and in Thrace it was the custom to divide the frozen wine in pieces, if at that time these countries were not subject to so severe a frost. Pliny the elder complains of the immense snows, which will not permit the objects the least remote, in European Scythia, to be seen. Speaking of Thrace, Pomponius Mela tells us, that the clusters of grapes

grapes never come to maturity; and all the antient writers talk of the northern districts of Germany as countries consisting entirely of forests, lakes, morasses, snow, and ice; complaining of the piercing winds that bring from these parts tempests, snows, and frosts. That it is at present of a [totally different temperature is known to every inhabitant of that country. But from these historical passages we might perhaps deduce a cause, why one part of Russia, though lying under the same parallel with Milan, Bourdeaux, and other countries and towns enjoying the most agreeable climate, is nevertheless of an atmospherical temperature entirely different. Thus, for example, Mosco lies under the same parallel with England; and yet, on the 14th of April, notwithstanding a mild winter and an uncommonly early spring, the whole country round was covered with snow. The ice had begun to break up on many large rivers, while the Volga was yet fast frozen. The degree of cold, which frequently in Mosco is not inferior to that at St. Petersburg, and likewise reaches to 22 and more below the freezing point, will, on a comparison with the temperature in England, shew an extraordinary difference: consequently, there must be some material reasons, occasioning such considerable differences under the same degree of

latitude. Considering these countries in this point of view, they are to us what Germany and the countries lying above the 50th and 55th degree were to Italy, while they still remained in an uncultivated state. We may therefore partly ascribe this colder temperature to the great number of morasses, lakes, the extraordinarily large forests and tracts of uncultivated land; and the rather, as it cannot be attributed to the high situation or the mountains, which in this region are of no extraordinary height, and the generality of the country is a flat. As it is a well-known observation how much loose heat is absorbed by water when it goes off in vapour, of course those regions which contain such a quantity of water on their surface must be constantly absorbing heat, which, by uniting with that element, is rendered insensible. The alterations in the atmospherical temperature that have been observed in our times, by the draining of morasses and the diminution of forests, likewise shew, that this difference may be attributable to the woods and swamps that are still so numerous. As far as relates to the northern regions, it is very comprehensible how the cold must so extremely increase, as by the flattening of our earth, they in the same proportion are deprived of light by the southern declination of the sun;



so that, for instance, in Archangel in the month of December, when the days are at the shortest, the sun remains above the horizon only 3 hours and 12 minutes, and on the contrary in the month of June is visible 20 hours and 48 minutes, and the still more northern countries must be entirely deprived of it during the winter. The winds blowing from these regions are in this season of an extraordinary dryness; as no heat is let loose, so there is no evaporation from ice or snow; whereas, on the other hand, the quantity of heat that in summer is set free, tempered by the quantity of rain, ice, and snow, lastly the water that goes off in vapour, confines a still greater quantity of heat, than was before necessary to liquefaction, whereby the sensibility of the particles of heat must considerably decline.

The observations made by count Sternberg during seven months in St. Petersburg will shew the long duration of the cold. The first snow fell the 20th of September, and the surface of the earth was not seen again till the 25th of April. The dry state of the air, as appeared by the hygrometer, was 95 drought. The height of the barometer evinced the low situation of the country, and the pressure of the atmosphere. According to the mean station of the barometer, Petersburg lay 137—12 lin. lower than Prague.

The first frost 1791 was the 14th of September, and the 3d of May 1792 the last; the interval, consequently, was 232 days; during 119 whereof it never ceased to freeze, and 25 on which it did not freeze at all, and 173 when the thermometer stood below the point of congelation; 169 days the sky was partly clouded, and 123 entirely overcast. Fogs he reckoned 41. During 69 days it snowed, 112 days it rained, and 2 days hailed. These observations relate to St. Petersburg; and we may easily conclude from them, that in such a climate but few days remain to the husbandman for the culture of his field; and it is absolutely impossible, with so few men and such poor implements, to lay out his ground properly in so short a space of time. That as well in the higher regions as in those that are at a greater distance from the sea, still fewer days are capable of being employed in culture, is well known; consequently still less can be performed, until the number of people be larger, the implements better, and they are in possession of whatever can facilitate labour; or the atmospherical temperature be softened by the gradual alteration of the surface; namely, by grubbing up the vast forests, and draining the swamps and morasses.

## SECTION III.

*Of the Commerce of Russia.*

**T**HE whole of the great and intricate business comprehended under this head, is naturally reducible to the following branches: Export, import, and the exchange. We will briefly touch on each of them apart.

It is hardly possible to give a true statement of the value, quality, and nature of the exports, without entering into a dry detail of custom-house lists. The publicity given to these matters here saves a great deal of trouble to the collectors of statistical accounts, in their relations concerning this branch of national affairs. The following statements are the result of a period of ten years, from 1780 to 1790. During that space were annually exported,

2,655,038 poods of iron

19,528 - - saltpetre

2,498,950 poods of hemp

792,932 - - flax

2,907,876 arschines of napkins and linen

214,704 pieces of sail-cloth and flens

106,763 poods of cordage

167,432 - - hemp-oil and linseed-oil



192,328	poods of linseed
52,645	- - tobacco
129	- - rhubarb
105,136	- - wheat
271,976	- - rye
35,864	- - barley
200,000	- - oats
1456	mafts
1,193,125	planks
85,647	boards
7487	poods of rofin
9720	- - pitch
37,336	- - tar
81,386	- - train-oil
10,467	- - wax
943,618	- - tallow and tallow-candles
31,712	- - potafhes
5516	- - ifinglafs
8958	- - caviar
5635	- - horfe-hair
69,722	horfe-tails
29,110	poods of hog's bristles
106,045	Ruffia mats
292,016	goat-fkins
144,876	poods of hides and fole-leather
621,327	pieces of peltry
9982	ox-tongues
73,350	ox-bones.

This

This list, which is complete to the exception of a few articles of inferior consequence, contains, besides napkins, linen, sail-cloth, cordage, tallow candles, pot-ashes, isinglass, caviar, peltry, and leather, no wrought goods; and even some of these have only such a preparation as is necessary for the transport and preservation of the product. The employment of the nation, considerably as it has increased since the time of Peter the great, is still always more directed to production than to manufacture. This is the natural progress of every human society advancing to civilization; and Russia will continue to confine itself to the mere production and the commerce in products, till the quantity of its population and employment be sufficient to the manufacturing of its raw materials.

The buying up of the foregoing articles, and their conveyance from the midland, and partly from the remotest regions of the empire, form an important branch of the internal commerce. The majority of these products are raised on the fertile shores of the Volga; this inestimable river, which, in its course, connects the most distant provinces, is at the same time the channel of business and industry. Wherever its water laves the rich and fruitful coasts, industry and diligence have fixed their abode: its course



marks the progress to internal civilization. But even from a distance of from 5 to 6000 versts, from the heart of Siberia, rich in metals, St. Petersburg receives the stores of its enormous magazines. The greater part of them, at least the hardwares, are brought hither from the easternmost districts of Siberia, almost entirely by water. The Selenga receives and transfers them to the Baikal, from which they proceed by the Angara to the Yenisey, and pass from that along the Obe into the Tobol; from it they are transported over a tract of about 400 versts by land to the Tchuffovaiya, from this into the Kamma, and then into the Volga; from which they go, through the sluices at Vishney-Volotshok, into the Volkhof, and out of that into the Ladoga lake; from which they lastly, after having completed a journey through two quarters of the globe, arrive in the Neva to the place of their destination. This astonishing transport becomes still more interesting by the reflection that these products conveyed hither from the neighbourhood of the north-eastern ocean, tarry here but a few weeks, in order then to set out on a second, perhaps greater voyage; or after being unshipped in distant countries, return hither under an altered form, and, by a tedious and difficult navigation, come back to their native land. How many  
scythes

scythes of the fiberian boors may have gone this circuitous course!

The number of the vessels which, according to a ten years' average, from 1774 to 1784, came by the Ladoga canal to St. Petersburg, was 2861 barks, 797 half barks, 508 one-masted vessels, 1113 chaloups—in all, 5339. Add to these 6739 floats of barks. Sum total, 12,078.

The prodigious value in money of these products is, by the want which Russia has of wrought commodities, and by the ever-increasing luxury, so much lessened, that the advantage on the balance is proportionably but very small. A list of the articles of trade with which St. Petersburg annually furnishes a part of the empire affords matter for the most interesting economical commentary.

The annual imports at St. Petersburg for the space of ten years, from 1780 to 1790, were

Silken stuffs to the amount of 2,500,000 rubles.

Woollen stuffs, 2,000,000 rubles.

Cloth, 2,000,000 rubles.

Cotton stuffs, 534,000 rubles.

Silk and cotton stockings, 10,000 dozen pair.

Trinkets, 700,000 rubles.

Watches, 2000.

Hardware, 50,000 rubles.

Looking-glasses, 50,000 rubles.

English

English stone-ware, 43,800 rubles.

English horses, 250.

Coffee, 26,300 poods.

Sugar, 372,000 poods.

Tobacco, 5000 poods.

Oranges and lemons, 101,500 rubles.

Fresh fruit, 65,000 rubles.

Herrings, 14,250 tons.

Sweet oil, 20,000 rubles.

Porter and english beer, 262,000 rubles.

French brandy, 50,000 ankers.

Champagne and Burgundy, 4000 pipes.

Other wines, 250,000 hogsheads.

Mineral water, 12,000 rubles.

Paper of different sorts, 42,750 rubles.

Books, 50,150 rubles.

Copper-plate engravings, 60,200 rubles.

Alum, 25,500 poods.

Indigo, 3830 poods.

Kochenille, 1335 poods.

Glass and glass wares, 64,000 rubles.

Scythes, 325,000, &c.

A very great part of these commodities remain and are consumed in St. Petersburg. The rest is conveyed by land-carriage to various parts of the empire, as to go up the navigable rivers against the stream would be tedious and expensive.



five. The carts or sledges made use of in this conveyance are mostly drawn by only one horse, each having a driver; who all together make up a caravan of from 25 to 100 carts: sometimes, on long journies, there is but one driver to every three carts.

The statements of the exports and imports above given are taken from the custom-house registers. In order to judge of the worth and validity of them, it is necessary to observe, that all vessels, on their arrival, undergo a strict examination both at Cronstadt and at St. Petersburg, and are obliged to unload at the custom-house. The proper officers examine the commodities according to the statement of the merchants, who are obliged to particularize not only the nature of them, but, when the duty is to be paid *ad valorem*, must also fix that value. If upon examination it appears, or affords cause to suspect, that the articles are rated below their proper value, the officer has a right to detain them, at the price thus set upon them, with an additional allowance of 20 per cent. for the profit. This method, which is called *under-writing*, obliges the trader to mark these articles of importation at a value rather too high than too low: and this practice therefore stamps a  
great

great authenticity on the custom-house lists. Whether, however, no fraud can be practised in the statement is a question, the solution whereof is only to be had from such as have the greatest interest in denying it. For the rest, it is the general opinion that the prudent precautions are no where in the whole empire so good as at Petersburg; and that consequently any frauds in the customs are no where so difficult. That this cannot be said of all custom-house officers is proved from the experience of late years, when those on the borders of Poland were displaced. Yet these matters do not come properly qualified to the statistic till several years after, as the facts are too recent for obtaining sure *data* and results.

It remains to be mentioned, that the importation of diamonds, books, instruments, and the like, is duty-free; and that therefore these considerable articles either have no place in the entries, or are set down at pleasure.

According to what has been seen, we are now enabled to state the value of the imports and exports, and the balance of the trade to St. Petersburg. By the most probable estimation, on an average of ten years, from 1780 to 1790, the account is as follows:—

Exports

Exports 13,261,942 rubles.

Imports 12,238,319

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Profit 1,023,623 rubles.

In coined and un-coined gold and silver, in the three last years, were annually imported - - - 337,064 rubles.

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This, added to the foregoing, makes - 1,360,687 rubles.

The amount of the whole commerce was therefore, in the said period, from 1780 to 1790, annually 25,837,325 rubles.

The increase of the commerce appears in a striking progression from the following statements:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1780.	8,600,000 rubles.	10,900,000 rubles.
1785.	10,000,000	13,400,000
1789.	15,300,000	18,700,000

If we admit, upon the most probable computation, that the whole commerce of the empire amounts to about 50,000,000 of rubles, it will follow, that St. Petersburg has more than



than the half for its share. The next place in the commercial scale, after the residence\*, is held by Riga; the commerce of which collectively may be estimated at about 6,000,000. This proportion may serve to shew the rank on this scale that may be allowed to the other trading towns that come after Riga.

The commerce of St. Petersburg is chiefly carried on by commission in the hands of factors. This class of merchants, which consists almost entirely of foreigners, forms the most respectable and considerable part of the persons on the exchange. In the year 1790, of the foreign counting houses, not belonging to the guilds, were eight and twenty english, seven german, two swiss, four danish, several prussian, six dutch, four french, two portugueze, one spanish, and one italian. Besides these, were twelve denominated burghers, and of the first guild 106, with 46 foreign merchants and 17 belonging to other towns, though several cause themselves to be enrolled in these guilds who are not properly merchants.

In order to form an idea of the exchange and the course of trade, the following brief account will suffice. The russian merchants from the in-

\* So St. Petersburg is styled, from being the usual residence of the later sovereigns. Mosco is the capital of Russia, as every reader knows.

terior of the empire repair, at a stated time, to St. Petersburg, where they bargain with the factors for the sale of their commodities. This done, they enter into contracts to deliver the goods according to the particulars therein specified, at which time they commonly receive the half or the whole of the purchase-money, though the goods are not to be delivered till the following spring or summer by the barks then to come down the Ladoga canal. The quality of the goods is then pronounced on by sworn *brackets* or sorters, according to the kinds mentioned in the contract. The articles of importation are either disposed of by russian merchants through the resident factors, or the latter deliver them for sale at foreign markets; in both cases the Russian, to whose order they came, receives them on condition of paying for them by instalments of six, twelve, and more months. The russian merchant, therefore, is paid for his exports beforehand, and buys such as are imported on credit; he risks no damages by sea, and is exempted from the tedious transactions of the custom-house, and of loading and unloading.

The clearance of the ships, the transport of the goods into the government warehouses, the packing and unpacking, unloading and dispatching of them,—in a word, the whole of the great  
6 bustle

bustle attendant on the commerce of a maritime town is principally at Cronstadt and that part of the residence called Vassiliofrof\*. Here are the exchange, the custom-house, and in the vicinity of this island, namely on a small island between that and the Petersburg island, the hemp warehouses and magazines, in which the riches of so many countries are bartered and kept. In all the other parts of the city, the tumult of business is so rare and imperceptible, that a stranger who should be suddenly conveyed hither would never imagine that he was in the chief commercial town of the russian empire. The opulent merchants have their dwellings and counting-houses in the most elegant parts of the town. Their houses, gate-ways, and court-yards, are not, as in Hamburgh and Riga, blocked up and barricadoed with bales of goods and heaps of timber; here, besides the counting-house, no trace is seen of mercantile affairs. The business at the custom-house is transacted by one of the clerks, and people that are hired

\* The Petersburg island was formerly called Berezovoi-ostrof; the Vassiliofrof, while Ingria was in possession of the Swedes, bore the name of Givisaari; the Apothecary's island was called Korposaaari; Kammenoiofrof was then Kitzisaari; and the parish where Peterhof stands was called Tirief.



for that purpose, called expeditors; and the labour is performed by artelschiki, or porters belonging to a kind of guild.

The factor delivers the imported goods to the russian merchant, who sends them off, in the above-mentioned manner, or retails them on the spot, in the markets, warehouses, and shops.

There would be no exaggeration in affirming, that it would be difficult to point out a people that have more of the spirit of trade and mercantile industry than the Russians. Traffic is their darling pursuit: every common Russian, if he can but by any means save up a trifling sum of money, as it is very possible for him to do, by his frugal and poor way of living, tries to become a merchant. This career he usually begins as a *rasnoschik* or seller of things about the streets; the profits arising from this ambulatory trade and his parsimony soon enable him to hire a *lavka* or shop; where, by lending of small sums at large interest, by taking advantage of the course of exchange, and by employing little artifices of trade, he in a short time becomes a pretty substantial man. He now buys and builds houses and shops, which he either lets to others, or furnishes with goods himself, putting in persons to manage them for small wages; begins to

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launch out into an extensive trade, undertakes podriads, contracts with the crown, deliveries of merchandize, &c. The numerous instances of the rapid success of such people almost exceed description. By these methods, a russian merchant, named Sava Yacovlef, who died not many years ago, from a hawkers of fish about the streets became a capitalist of several millions. Many of these favourites of fortune are at first vassals, who obtain passes from their landlords, and with these stroll about the towns, in order to seek a better condition of life, as labourers, bricklayers, and carpenters, than they could hope to find at the plough-tail in the country. Some of them continue, after fortune has raised them, and even with great riches, still slaves; paying their lord, in proportion to their circumstances, an *obrok* or yearly tribute. Among the people of this class at Petersburg are many who belong to count Sheremetof, the richest private man in Russia, and pay him annually for their pass a thousand and more rubles. It often happens that these merchants, when even in splendid circumstances, still retain their national habit and their long beard; and it is by no means rare to see them driving along the streets of the residence, in this dress, in the most elegant carriages. From all this it is very remarkable, that  
extremely

extremely few russian houses have succeeded in getting the foreign commission trade; a striking proof that there is *something* besides industry and parsimony requisite to mercantile credit, in which the Russians must hitherto have been deficient.

All the ways of gaining a livelihood among the working class have an intimate connection. The raising the products, their manufacture, and the barter of them, are equally the capital of the nation, and the source of its prosperity and wealth. Among the manufactories the imperial establishments are so distinguishable for the magnitude of their plan, and the richness and excellence of their productions, that they may enter into competition with the most celebrated institutions of the same kind in any other country. The tapestry manufactory, which weaves both hangings and carpeting, produces such excellent work, that better is not to be seen from the Gobelines at Paris. The circumstance that at present only native Russians are employed, enhances the value and the curiosity of the establishment. No where, perhaps, is the progress of the nation in civilisation more striking to the foreigner than in the spacious and extensive work-rooms of this manufactory. The porcelain manufactory likewise entertains, excepting  
the



the modellers and arcanists, none but russian workmen, amounting in all to the number of 400, and produces ware that for taste and fineness of execution approaches near to their best patterns. The clay was formerly got from the Oural, but at present from the Ukraine, and the quartz from the mountains of Olonetz. It is carried on entirely at the expence of government, to which it annually costs 15,000 rubles in wages, and takes orders. But the price of the porcelain is high; and the general prejudice is not in favour of its durability. The fayence manufactory has hitherto made only ineffectual attempts to drive out the queen's ware of England; but the neat and elegant chamber-stoves made there, give it the consequence of a very useful establishment. Almost all the new-built houses are provided with the excellent work of this manufactory; and considerable orders are executed for the provinces.—A bronze manufactory, which was set up for the use of the construction of the Isaak church, but works now for the court and private persons, merits honourable mention, on account of the neatness and taste of its executions.—More remarkable by the mechanism of their construction are the stone-cutting works at Peterhof. All the instruments, saws, turning-lathes, cutting and polishing engines, are worked by

by water under the floor of the building. Fifty workmen are here employed in working foreign, and especially russian sorts of stone into slabs, vases, urns, boxes, columns, and other ornaments of various kinds and magnitudes.— Many other imperial fabrics for the use of the army, the mint, &c. are carried on in various places; but the description of them would lead us beyond our limits.

The number of private manufactories at present subsisting in St. Petersburg amounts to about 100. The principal materials on which they are employed, some on a larger and others on a smaller scale, are leather, paper, gold and silver, sugar, silk, tobacco, distilled waters, wool, glass, clay, wax, cotton, and chintz. Leather, as is well known, is among the most important of their manufactures for the export trade; accordingly here are 16 tan-works. The paper manufactories amount to the like number, for hangings and general use. Twelve gold and silver manufactories sell threads, laces, edgings, fringes, epaulets, &c. Eight sugar-works. Seven for silk goods, gauze, cloths, hose, and stuffs, and several others. Here must not be forgotten the great glass-houses set up by prince Potemkin, where all the various articles for use and ornament, of that material, are made; but particularly

particularly that for looking-glasses, where they are manufactured of such extraordinary magnitude and beauty, as to exceed any thing of the kind produced by the famous glass-houses at Murano and Paris, Among many others which we have not room to particularize, are no less than five letter-founderies, one manufactory for clocks and watches, &c.

That in so large and opulent a city, the residence of a brilliant court, the necessary and useful trades should find employment, may be easily imagined; but perhaps it is not generally known, that in a city of so modern a date, that for the supply of not only the most necessary, but also of the most frivolous demands, for the simplest not more than for the most artificial conveniencies, for the most curious as well as the most ordinary luxuries, here are artists and workshops of all descriptions. Allured by the numerous wants of a great city, and the profusion of a court, many thousands of industrious and ingenious foreigners have been induced to settle here; by the continual influx of whom, and the communication of their talents, this residence is become not only the seat of all ingenious trades, but likewise a source of industry, which flows from hence in beneficial streams through all the adjacent provinces. No country has contributed  
in



in so great a degree to effect this salutary change as Germany; all useful trades, and a great part of those for the accommodations of luxury, are carried on by Germans and Russians alone. Next to the Germans in this respect come the Swedes; some few French live here in the capacity of *restaurateurs*, cooks, *friseurs*, clock-makers, and some others. Two or three breweries and some handicrafts are prosecuted with success by Englishmen. Germans are dispersed all over the empire: upwards of 20,000 families dwell in the Crimea and on the shores of the Volga; in Mosco, Archangel, and several of the inland provinces, many, and some of them considerable families, have been domesticated from the beginning of this century and earlier.

Of the trades which are followed almost exclusively by the Russians, are those of the bricklayer and carpenter. Besides the bricklayers and masons that live constantly at St. Petersburg, above 6000 of them come annually from the provinces to work during the short summer. Spacious and handsome buildings are usually constructed after the plans of an architect, of whom the court has some of the first eminence in its service, and under the inspection of a surveyor; but all the rest is performed by Russian builders. These and the masons are for the most

part boors, who employ their passport in working for the use and embellishment of the city. It is impossible to refrain from being surprised at the talent for imitation that forms the prominent feature in the character of this nation, on seeing how quickly these clownish people, destitute of all idea of art, attain to the utmost dexterity and the nicest judgment in the execution of these works. The *plotniki*, or carpenters, are equally expert in the use of their axe, which, though so simple in its construction, supplies with them the place of the hammer, the plane, the saw, and the chisel. With this compendium of all tools they build houses, make tables, chairs, carts—in short, all the necessaries of common life that can be made of wood. On account of their dexterity and the cheapness of their labour, they are employed in the construction even of brick and stone houses, for executing the coarser carpentry.

The potteries and glazed tile works are all in the hands of Russians. Besides these, the Russians are the only butchers and gardeners. The latter produce every thing that can come up in their soil and climate. As the greatest advantage of this profession is to produce vegetables at extraordinary seasons, the utmost endeavours of these people are exerted to that end, and perhaps

perhaps no where under the same parallel are all the vegetables of the kitchen-garden produced so early as here. This trade is mostly followed by boors from Rostoff and the adjacent country, who, after a few years stay, return home with considerable property, the fruit of their industry. How profitable this profession must be, from the prevailing luxury of the table, may be easily conceived.—Prince Potemkin, during his last sojourn in the residence, dining one day with count Chernichef, an experimental *selentschik*, (green-seller,) announced himself with five uncommonly fine cucumbers, which exactly at that time of the year were extremely rare, and of which the prince was known to be particularly fond. The house-steward took them of the man, and presented them to his master, who was sitting at table with the prince. The cucumbers were devoured in a trice; and the count ordered 100 rubles to be given to the green-seller, as a present for the agreeable surprise: but the latter, who had already learnt that his goods were irrevocably gone, rejected the present, and demanded the payment of 500 rubles; till at length he was with great difficulty persuaded to be contented with a smaller sum.

These and a few other less important trades are confined solely to the Russians. In all the rest



rest the Germans are as numerous, and often more so than the Russians. This is principally the case in all handicrafts that depend on fashion, as the prejudices here are greatly in favour of foreigners. Thus, for example, there are more German taylors than shoemakers, in proportion to Russians. Among the former are many substantial and even wealthy persons, who, besides their house in town, have another in the country, keep an equipage, and whose wives wear diamonds. Nay, several of them give weekly concerts and routs, and on each of the family festivals spend 100 or 150 rubles on the table. People of this sort rise above their trade; they become artists; it is not so much for the work as for the fashion that they are paid. One of these artists in dress, whose good fortune and reputation have raised him to opulence, now undertakes nothing more than the cutting out of the clothes, and then gives them to other taylors to sew them together; for this trouble, under the article *pour la façon*, he charges 25 rubles. Many of these people too are not merely taylors, but belong to the class called in France *marchands-tailleurs*. Their greatest profit is in buying; they make advances, and give credit to people of rank, of whom they have frequently several thousands of rubles to demand.

Besides

Besides the trades already mentioned, that of the smith is one of the most profitable; as the masters can employ boors in the coarse work, and who, on first coming from the country, are to be had at very low wages. The generality of german smiths succeed very well, build themselves good houses, and leave their children wherewith to begin the world. But in general, the german mechanic, all things considered, lives no where so well as here, as he can no where earn so much with so much ease. The business of the master consists in looking after his workmen, in regulating the day's work, in taking of orders, and getting in his debts. At noon he sits down to a well-furnished table, and the evening he passes in one or other of the numerous clubs in various parts of the town. Far worse fares it with the russian artisan. His work is in some cases (though certainly not in all, for the german master has often only russian journeymen and apprentices) indeed not quite so good; but the price of his workmanship is always far inferior to the value of his labour. In very many of the mechanical trades the Russians already perform all that can reasonably be expected; and from this, and from the insolence of the german masters, their customers increase from year to year.

Most

Most of the trades that relate to luxuries are here carried on to such an extent, and in so great perfection, as to render it, at least for the residence, unnecessary to import those articles from abroad. The chief of these are works in the nobler metals. Here are 44 russian and 139 foreign, consequently in all 183 workers in gold, silver, and trinkets, as masters; and besides them several gilders and silverers;—a monstrous disproportion, when compared with those employed in the useful and indispensable businesses. The pomp of the court, and the luxury of the rich and great, have rendered a taste in works of this kind so common, and carried the art itself to such a pitch, that the most extraordinary objects of it are here to be met with. Several of them are wrought in a sort of manufactory: in one set of premises are all the various workmen and shops for completing the most elegant devices, ornamental and useful, from the rough bullion. Even the embroiderers in gold and silver, though they are not formed into a company, are yet pretty numerous. The works they produce are finished in so high a taste, that quantities of them are sold in the shops that deal in english or french goods, and to which they are not inferior. This business, which is a perpetual source of profit to a great number of  
widows



widows and young women of slender incomes, forms a strong objection to the declamations against luxury. Perhaps the remark is not unnecessary, that sham laces and embroidery cannot here be used, even on the stage. Next to these may be ranged the host of milleners, who are mostly of french descent; and here, as in Paris, together with their industry are endowed with a variety of agreeable and profitable talents. Their numbers are daily increasing; and, surprising! the greater their multitude, the better they seem to thrive. Their work is neat, elegant, and modish; but they certainly bear an enormous price: a *marchande des modes*, if she understand her business, is sure to make a fortune. The generality of them, after completing this aim, return to their native country.

The coachmaker's trade is likewise here in a flourishing state. The great concerns in which this business is carried on in all its parts, from the simple screw to the finest varnish; the solidity and durability, the elegance and the taste of the carriages they turn out, the multitude of people, and, in short, the large sums of money that are employed in them, which would otherwise be sent abroad for these vehicles, render this business one of the most consequential of the residence. In the judgment of connoisseurs,  
and

and by the experience of such as use them; the carriages made here yield in nothing to those of Paris or London; and in the making of varnish the Russians have improved upon the English; only in point of durability the carriages are said to fall short of those built by the famous workmen of the last-mentioned nation; and the want of dry timber is given as the cause of this failure. With all these advantages, and notwithstanding the vast difference in price of those that come from abroad, which is greatly enhanced by the high duties, yet they are yearly imported to a great amount; the blame of which practice is generally laid by the Russians on the prejudices of the english merchants, (who lead the fashions in most instances,) in favour of the carriages of their own country. The Russians have succeeded in appropriating the far greater part of this business to themselves; the shape of their carriages is in the height of the mode, the varnish is excellent, and the outward appearance elegant and graceful; but for durability their reputation is still inferior to those even of the german workmen here. This censure applies to all the russian manufactures; their exterior is often not to be found fault with; but they are deficient in the solidity, which so much recommends the work of other countries. In excuse for the Russians,

one thing ought not to be forgot, that they have to contend with an obstacle that renders it impossible for them to employ so much time, labour, and expence, on their work, as are necessary for bringing it to the utmost intrinsic perfection; and which, as long as it continues, will confine and impede the progress of national industry. This obstacle is the general prejudice in favour of english commodities, which indeed is the case, more or less, in all countries; but no where in so high a degree, and with such exclusive effects, as here. The russian manufacturer, therefore, naturally strives to impose his work on the customer for foreign, and to press it upon him under foreign names: where this is not practicable, (as with the carriages in the Yæmskoi, which every body knows to be russian,) he is forced to sacrifice solidity to outward appearance, as he can only expect to be paid for that. A chariot made by a german coachmaker is not to be had under 6 or 700 rubles; whereas a russian chariot can be bought for half the money; and it sometimes happens that the latter is even more lasting than the former.

Joinery is practised as well by the Russians as the Germans; but the cabinet-maker's art, in which the price of the ingenuity far exceeds the value of the materials, is at present solely confined



finer to some foreigners, amongst whom the Germans distinguish themselves to their honour. The artists of that nation occasionally execute master-pieces, made at intervals of leisure under the influence of genius and taste, and for which they find a ready sale in the residence of a great and magnificent court. Thus not long since one of these made a cabinet, which for invention, taste, and excellency of workmanship, exceeded every thing that had ever been seen in that way. The price of this piece of art was 7000 rubles; and the artist declared, that with this sum he should not be paid for the years of application he had bestowed upon it. Another monument of german ingenuity is preserved in the academy of sciences, in the model of a bridge after a design of the state-counsellor Von Gerhard. This bridge, the most magnificent work of the kind, if the possibility of its construction could be proved, consists of 11 arches, a draw-bridge for letting vessels pass, distinct raised footways and landing-places, &c. The beauty of the model, and the excellency of its execution, leave every thing of the sort very far behind. The late empress rewarded the artificer with a present of 4000 rubles, and he has ever since been employed by the court.—Among the more capital undertakers of this class are people who

who keep warehouses of ready-made goods for sale; one in particular, who has by him to the amount of many thousand rubles, in inlaid or parquetted floors of all kinds of wood, patterns, and colours, that only require to be put together, which may be done in a few days. Another confines himself to the making of coffins, of which he keeps a great quantity, of every form and size, and at all prices. Several of these dealers on a large scale have neither shop nor tools, nor journeymen, but engage only, in podriads; for example, to execute all the timber and wood-work in a new-built house, and then take on the necessary workmen, over whom they act as surveyors.—Before we dismiss this subject, a man and his work must be mentioned, who does honour to his country, Germany; and in his line has excelled any thing that the most refined industry of England and France has ever produced. The name of this man is Roentgen; he is a native of Neuwied, and belongs to the sect of Moravian brethren. He has lived many years, at several times, in St. Petersburg, and has embellished and enriched the palaces of the empress and the great personages of the court with the astonishing productions of his art. In the imperial hermitage are a great many pieces of furniture, cabinets, clocks, and other works,

of his invention and execution. They are composed of the greatest variety of woods, to which the artist, by a certain preparation, has given a peculiar hardness and durability; and which, by the most laborious and extraordinary mode of polishing, have received a gloss which needs no rubbing for its preservation. The workmanship of these pieces is not less wonderful than their invention; not a joint is visible; all is fitted so exactly together as though it were molten at one cast: some are inlaid with bronze-work of the most beautiful and diversified gilding; others with bas-reliefs, gems, and antiques. But the most superlative production of this artist is a bureau or writing-desk, which the empress presented to the museum of the academy of sciences about eight years ago. Here the genius of the inventor has lavished its riches and its fertility in the greatest variety of compositions: all seems the work of enchantment. On opening this amazing desk, in front appears a beautiful group of bas-reliefs in bronze superbly gilt; which, by the slightest pressure on a spring, vanishes away, giving place to a magnificent writing-flat inlaid with gems. The space above this flat is devoted to the keeping of valuable papers or money. The bold hand that should dare to invade this spot would immediately be its own betrayer: for,



for, at the least touch of the table-part, the most charming strains of soft and plaintive music instantly begin to play upon the ear; the organ from whence it proceeds occupying the lower part of the desk behind. Several small drawers for holding the materials for writing, &c. likewise start forward by the pressure of their springs, and shut again as quickly, without leaving behind a trace of their existence. If one would change the table-part of the bureau into a reading-desk, from the upper part a board springs forward, from which, with incredible velocity, all the parts of a commodious and well-contrived reading-desk expand, and take their proper places. But the mechanism of this performance of art, as well as its outward ornaments, should be seen, as nothing can be more difficult to describe. The inventor offered this rare and astonishing piece to the empress Catharine II. for 20,000 rubles; but she generously thought that this sum would be barely sufficient to pay for the workmanship: she therefore recompensed his talent with a farther present of 5000 rubles.

Several other branches of trade and commerce might be mentioned; but these may suffice for the information of the readers of the present work, especially as in this part of it we must necessarily consult brevity.

For want, however, of a true statement of weights, measures, and coins, readers justly complain of difficulties in comprehending the authors who treat of foreign countries: we will therefore conclude our Preliminaries with the necessary information on those subjects with regard to Russia.

Throughout the whole russian monarchy, their chronology is kept by the julian calendar with the old style. Accordingly, as is well known, they are 11 days behind us, which, in letters and other writings that pass in correspondence with foreigners, is generally noticed.

Measures and weights are fixed by the government, and are completely the same all over the empire, though some provinces have their own denominations for certain measures and weights. But they are all under the cognizance of the police and the town-magistrate, who stamp them, and decide all disputes about them.

LONG MEASURE.—The russian foot is exactly the same with the english, which was adopted by Peter the great for the fleet, and is now become the standard for the whole empire. It is divided into 12 inches; every inch into 10 lines, and every line into 10 scruples.

The russian yard is called arshine. It is in length 28 english, or  $26\frac{1}{2}$  french inches. It is

divided into 16 vershoks, each of which is therefore  $1\frac{1}{8}$  english inches—93 $\frac{1}{4}$  arshines make 100 ells of Berlin—97 $\frac{1}{8}$  arshines make 100 ells of Amsterdam—80 $\frac{1}{16}$  arshines make 100 ells of Hamburgh, &c. At Riga they sometimes measure by the ell, formerly in common use there, whereof 100 make only 77 $\frac{1}{8}$  arshines.

The russian fathom (sajéne) is 7 english feet or 3 arshines; the english and the dutch are no more than 6 feet. A german fathom contains 6 rhenish feet. A french toise is 6 french feet. A freyberg lachter is 6 feet 3 inches 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  lines.

A russian verst is the length of 500 fathoms (sajéne), which are equal to 3500 english feet. A geographical mile contains 6 versts 475 sajénes and 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  arshines; and a geographical degree 104 $\frac{1}{4}$  versts, or exactly speaking, 104 versts, 131 $\frac{1}{8}$  sajénes, and 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  vershoks. An english land mile is 2 versts and 86 sajénes; an english sea mile 1 verst 368 sajénes and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  arshines; a french league 4 versts 84 sajénes; a swedish mile 10 versts and 17 sajénes.

**SUPERFICIAL MEASURE.**—Superficies are always reckoned by square versts, desættines, and square sajénes, but most commonly by desættines. A desættine is 80 sajénes or 560 english feet long, and 30 sajénes or 210 feet

*every  
in the  
as in  
as this  
the  
reader*



broad. It contains therefore 2400 square fajénes or 117,600 russian and english square feet. In some provinces a desættine is 60 fajénes long, and 40 fajénes broad, making 2400 square fajénes. A half desættine is likewise called a tſchetwert, which consequently contains 1200 square fajénes. An acre of Berlin contains 180 square rods or 25,920 square feet, a swedish tonne-land, by which at times they still measure in the governments of Riga, Reval, Viborg, and in the district of Petersburg, comprises 46,772 french square feet.

CORN MEASURE.—A garnitza, which is the same with the osmuka and osmushka, and is the least of corn measures, contains the eighth part of a tchetverik, or a measure holding 5 russian pounds of dried rye. It is chiefly used in portioning out oats for horses.

A kulmit of Œesl and other places, contains 3 garnitza or  $\frac{3}{8}$  tchetverik.

A poltchetverik or half-tchetverik is a measure of  $614\frac{1}{2}$  paris cubic inches. Calculated by dry rye it contains half a pood.

A tchetverik makes two poltchetveriks, and is an eighth of a tchetvert. It contains 1229 paris cubic inches, and holds a pood of dried barley.

A pai

A pai or payok is a quarter tchetvert or 2 tchetveriks, or 16 osmuki, comprising 2 pood or 80 pound of dried barley. An exact pai contains 2458 french cubic inches.

A polosmina contains 2 pai or 4 tchetveriks, and comprehends 4 pood of dried rye. The space of this measure is 4916 french cubic inches.

A meschok or sack is reckoned for 5 pood, and is most generally used for measuring meal.

A tchetvert, the fourth of an okau, and

An osmina, are one and the same measure. It contains 64 garnitzi, and just as many osmuki, 8 tchetveriks, or of dried rye 8 pood; properly 9832 french cubic inches.

A cool or mat-bag weighs, full of barley-meal, 9 pood, and is usually reckoned equal to 10 tchetveriks.

An okau contains 4 tchetverts, therefore of dried rye 32 pood, &c. It is however, by reason of its inconveniency, entirely gone out of use.

A tonne of corn holds in Reval 5964, in Riga 6570, in Narva 8172, in Sweden 8310 french cubic inches. In Viborg 1 tonne of corn is equal in weight to 6 pood. A bushel of Berlin contains 2604 french cubic inches.

A lof in Riga comprises 3285 french cubic inches, equal to 27 cans. It is therefore somewhat above  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a tchetvert, to which it is commonly reckoned equal.

A last in Reval holds 24 reval tonns, in Riga 24 riga tonns, or 48 lofs of rye, but of barley only 45 lof.

LIQUID MEASURE.—A tcharka is the eleventh part of a krushka or ofmin.

A krushka or ofmin contains  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a vedro.

A tchetvert is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a vedro, or 2 krushki.

A vedro contains a space of 610 french cubic inches, and is equal to 5 riga cans or 10 riga stoffs.

A botshka (cask) holds 4 vedro.

A stoff in Reval is 60, in Riga 61 french cubic inches.

A fask in Riga holds 12 russian vedro or 120 riga stoffs.

Nineteen vedro make 1 hogshhead or 6 ankers; 57 vedro amount to 152 english gallons, one of which contains 233 french cubic inches.

WEIGHTS.—The least russian weight is a solotnik, weighing 68, but, according to the russian pharmacopœia, 70 medicinal grains. In the common course of trade the solotnik is divided into  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$ ; but the assayers, jewellers,



ellers, and goldsmiths, divide it into 96 parts, and call each a *part*: a diamond, for example, weighs  $2\frac{7}{96}$ , &c.

A russian lote weighs 3 solotniks.

A pound contains 32 lote or 96 solotniks, which make 8512 apothecary grains, or 7452 dutch ass. Five-and-forty russian pounds are 38 hampburgh pounds. The parts of a pound are usually named by solotniks; what, for instance, weighs 7 lote, is said to weigh 21 solotniks.

An oka in Tavrida is 3 russian pounds.

A dvoïnik is 2, a troïnik 3, a pæterik 5, and a desæterik 10 pounds, or a quarter of a pood.

A polupood, or half a pood, weighs 20, and a whole pood 40 russian pounds, or 3840 solotniks, which, according to riga weight, make  $38\frac{1}{8}$ , to reval weight 38, to nurenburg weight 35 pound and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lote. A pood is 36 english pounds.

A berkovetch is 10 pood or 400 russian pounds. A hundred pounds of the weight of Amsterdam are, according to that of Russia,  $120\frac{1}{7}\frac{3}{11}$  pounds.

100 pounds of Berlin are here  $114\frac{2}{7}$  pounds.

100 pounds of Hamburgh are here  $124\frac{3}{11}$  pounds.

100 pounds of Sweden weigh  $103\frac{3}{11}$  russian pounds.

The

The weight of hay is in many places reckoned by grista and parms: a grista is half a pood or 20 pounds; a parm is 480 grista or 240 poods.

Coin.	Gold.	Imperial	- - -	10 rubles
		Half-imperial	- - -	5
Silver.		Ruble	- - -	100 copeeks
		Half-ruble	- - -	50
		Quarter-ruble	- - -	25
		Twenty-copeek piece		20
		Fifteen-copeek-piece		15
		Grievnik	- - -	10
Copper.		Five copeek piece	-	5
		Petaki (5-cop. piece)		5
		Grosch	- - -	2
		Copeek	- - -	1
		Denushka	- - -	$\frac{1}{2}$
		Polushka	- - -	$\frac{1}{4}$

\* \* \* It is necessary to mention that the relational value of the ruble to the money of other countries varies with the course of exchange; it will be, however, generally adequate to all historical purposes if the reader reckons the ruble at four shillings. Dividing by five will then give him the sums specified in pounds sterling. This may serve for the period of this history: but at present, 1798, the ruble is worth no more than two shillings.

# TABLE I. ANHALT-ZERBST.

JOHN, prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, born March 24, 1621, died June 4, 1667.  
Married Sophia Augusta, daughter of Frederic, duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

Charles William, prince, born Oct. 26, 1662; succ. 1667; died Nov. 8, 1718.  
Married Sophia, daughter of duke Augustus administrator of Magdeburg.

John Augustus, prince, born July 29, 1677; succ. 1718; died Nov. 7, 1742.  
Mar. 1. Frederica, daughter of Frederic duke of Saxe Gotha.  
2. Hedvig Frederica, daughter of Frederic Ferdinand duke of Wirtemberg-Weiltingen.

John Lewis, resided at Dornburg, born March 4, 1656; died Nov. 1, 1704.  
Mar. Christiana Eleonora von Zentich.

John Lewis, prince, born June 12, 1688; succ. conjointly with his brother 1742; died Nov. 5, 1746.

Christian Augustus, prince, born Nov. 29, 1690; succ. with John Lewis 1742, prussian general, field-marshal, and governor of Stettin; died March 16, 1747.  
Mar. Johanna Elizabeth, daughter of Christian Augustus bishop of Lubeck, Nov. 8, 1727.

Sophia Augusta Frederica, born May 2, 1729, afterwards CATARINA ALEXIEVNA.

William Christian Frederic, born Nov. 18, 1730; died Aug. 26, 1742.

Frederic Augustus\*, last prince of Zerbst, born Apr. 9, 1734; died March 3, 1793.  
Mar. 1. Carolina Wilhelmina Sophia, daughter of Maximilian, landgraf of Hesse-Cassel; died May 22, 1759.  
2. Frederica Augusta Sophia, daughter of Victor Frederic, prince of A. Bernburg.

\* There were also three princesses, but who all died in their infancy.



## TABLE II. HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP.

Christian Albert, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, born Feb. 3, 1641, bishop of Lubeck from 1655 to 1666.

Died Dec. 27, 1694.

Married Frederica Amelia, daughter of Frederic III. king of Denmark.

Frederic IV. born Oct. 18, 1671; died July 19, 1702.  
Mar. Hedvig Sophia, daughter of Charles XI. of Sweden.

Charles Frederic, born April 30, 1700; died June 18, 1739.  
Mar. ANNA PETROVNA, daughter of tzar Peter the great.

CHARLES PETER ULRIC, born Feb. 21, 1728, afterwards Peter III. emperor of Russia, and husband of Catharine II.

Christian Augustus, born Jan. 11, 1673, bishop of Lubeck; died Apr. 25, 1727.  
Mar. Albertina Frederica, daughter of Frederic Magnus, margraf of Baden-durlach.

Adolphus Fred. king of Sweden, died 1771.  
Mar. Luisa Ulrica princess of Prussia.

Gustavus III. king of Sweden, assassinated 1792.

Gustavus Adolphus, present king of Sweden.

Johanna Elizab. born Oct. 24, 1712; died May 30, 1760.  
Mar. Christian Aug. prince of Anhalt-Zerbst.

Hedvig Elizabeth Char-lotta, married to the duke of Sudermania.

SOPHIA AUGUSTA FREDERICA, afterwards wife of Peter III. and empress Catharine II.

George Lewis, born March 1, 1719; died Sept. 7, 1763.

Peter Frederic Lewis, present prince bishop of Lubeck.

# TABLE III.

## R. U. S. S. I. A.

Tzar Alexey Michailovitch succeeded in 1645, died 1676.

Married 1. Maria Iliichna Miloslauskaita.

2. Natalia Kirilovna Narishkina.

1. Tzar Feodor III.  
Alexeyvitch, succ.  
1676, died 1682.

1. Tzar Ivan III. Alexey-  
vitch succeeded with his  
brother Peter 1682, abdi-  
cated 1689, died 1696.  
Mar. Procopia Feodorovna  
Solitcova.

Catharina Ivanovna, died  
1733.  
Mar. Charles Leopold,  
duke of Mecklenburgh,  
1716; died 1747.

Anna Ivanovna, empress  
1730; died 1740.  
Mar. Frederic William,  
duke of Courland,  
1710; widow 1711.

Anna Carolovna  
(Elizabeth Catharina Christina),  
regent of Russia 1740, pulled  
down and imprisoned 1741, died  
1746.  
Mar. Anthony Ulric, prince of  
Brunswic - Wolfenbuttel, 1739.  
Put into prison 1741. Died 1776.

Ivan IV. (III. VI.)  
Antonovitch, born  
Aug. 23, 1740. emp.  
Oct. 28, 1740, de-  
posed Dec. 6, 1741;  
put to death July 16,  
1764.

Catharina Elizabeth,  
born Nov.  
1743, died  
Oct. 1782.

Peter, born Alexey,  
1745. born 1746;  
died Oct.  
1787.

Peter II. Alexeyvitch, em-  
petor 1727, died 1730.

1. Alexey Petrovitch, put  
to death 1718.  
Married: Charlotta Chris-  
tina Sophia, princess of  
Brunswic - Blankenburg;  
died 1715.

2. Anna Petrovna.  
Mar. 1725 to Charles Fred.  
duke of Holstein-Gottorp;  
died 1728.

PETER III. Feodorovitch  
(Charles Peter Ulric),  
emp. Jan. 5, 1762, de-  
throned July 9; died July 17.  
Mar. Catharine II. Alexievna  
(Sophia Augusta Frederica),  
reigning empress July 9,  
1762; died Nov. 17, 1796.

### PAUL PETROVITCH,

Born Oct. 1, 1754; emperor Nov. 17, 1796.

Mar. 1. Natalia Alexievna (Wilhelmina), princess of  
Hesse-Darmstadt, died 1776.

2. Maria Feodorovna, (Sophia Dorothea Augusta Louisa,  
princess of Wirtemberg. Issue, six children, all alive.

Anna Petrovna, born  
Dec. 20, 1757; died  
March 19, 1759.

2. Elizaveta Petrovna,  
empress 1741; died  
Jan. 5, 1762.

EMPIRE CATHARTIC

THE REVOLUTION OF 1776, WHICH WAS THE FIRST STEP  
TOWARDS THE REVOLUTION OF 1848, WAS THE FIRST  
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THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.



L I F E  
OF THE  
EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

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CHAP. I.

*Events previous to the Revolution in the Year  
1762.—Birth and early Years of the Empress.  
—Marriage with the Grand Duke Peter Fedo-  
rovitch.—Transactions till the Death of Eliza-  
beth.*

IT is now scarcely possible for any great events to escape the pen of history; and those which it seems to record with most delight are the sanguinary catastrophes that shake empires to their base, or cause the reins of government to pass from one hand to another. Vain then would be the attempt to conceal or disguise the causes of that revolution which, in 1762, brought the throne

throne of Russia under another sovereign. Many will, doubtless, be the writers who will endeavour to unveil them; and therefore it is of consequence that posterity should faithfully be made acquainted with that transaction.

In order to form a true judgment of the character of Peter III. of his failings and misfortunes, we must first cast an eye over the reign of Elizabeth, to discover the intrigues that were formed against her nephew by the ambitious and faithless courtiers of that princess.

Elizabeth Petrovna was the daughter of Peter the great and the first Catharine; who, notwithstanding her great power, was obliged, at her death, to leave the throne to the young Peter II.\* son of the unfortunate tzarovitch Alexius, decapitated by order of his father.

Peter II. reigned only three years, and was followed† by the empress Anne, daughter of the tzar Ivan, elder brother of Peter the first.

To Anne, in 1740‡, succeeded Ivan III. her nephew, being yet in his cradle; and who, by a conspiracy headed by a german surgeon of french extraction, named Lestoc, was de-throned, thirteen months afterwards§, for the

\* May 18, 1727.

† February 1, 1730.

‡ The 28th of October.

§ December 7, 1741.

purpose of raising Elizabeth to the sovereign power\*.

Elizabeth, it is said, bore a likeness to the handsome Catharine, her mother, and even transcended her in beauty. She was of an advantageous height, and of a figure remarkably well proportioned; and though her features were rather large, her countenance displayed an inexpressible sweetness, which she increased still further by the charms of a conversation, often gay, and almost always flattering. But if she equalled her mother in those advantages which render the society of a woman so agreeable; if she surpassed her in the immoderate love of pleasure; she was very far from possessing, like her, that strength of mind which gives to them to whose share it falls, the irresistible ascendant over all that sur-

\* Lestoc became, in his turn, the victim of a cabal that was formed against him. The chancellor Bestucheff, and several other courtiers, accused him to the empress Elizabeth of holding a dangerous correspondence with the ambassador of Prussia; and the deluded princess sacrificed to their animosity the man to whom she owed her crown. Lestoc was deprived of all his property, and exiled to a miserable village in the province of Archangel, where he was abandoned to the extremest indigence. Peter III. recalled him; but a part of his property was lost, which he did not regret, any more than the court, where he ceased to appear, as he was now apprised of its dangers. He died at Petersburg in 1767.



round them. Instead of having the art of commanding, Elizabeth submitted herself continually to the guidance of others; and this weakness was a primary cause of the misfortunes of Peter III.

That she might secure her independence, Elizabeth constantly refused to take a husband, with whom she must have shared the empire; but she did not the more abstain from voluptuous gratifications, or even tasting the pleasures of the maternal state; and as, with her other infirmities, she had that of being a bigot, the field-marshal Alexey Gregorievitch Razumoffsky, her grand-veneur, succeeded in determining her privately to give him her hand. The counts Tarrakanoff and their sister\* were the fruit of this clandestine union. Razumoffsky †, however,

\* We shall hereafter relate the unhappy end of this young princess, and the cruel treatment she experienced from Catharine II. and Alexius Orloff, when she was brought off by the latter from Rome, whither she had been conducted by prince Radzevil.

One of the brothers, Tarrakanoff, is still alive. The other died miserably at Petersburg. Being designed to be admitted into the college of Mines, he attended a course of chemistry under professor Lehmann: and in setting on the furnace a vessel filled with poisonous ingredients, he broke it, and was suffocated.

† The empress Elizabeth loaded Alexius Razumoffsky with benefits. She made him a present of the palace Anitzkoi,

ever, was not the only lover of Elizabeth; she found it agreeable to make frequent changes; but the crafty favourite permitted none to be presented to her view, except such as he thought to have too little understanding or ambition to attempt a competition with him.

To her propensity to voluptuousness, Elizabeth first added the love of good cheer, and then gave herself up to the pleasures of wine. Banquets, balls, masquerades, the most frivolous amusements, were preferable in her mind to the perplexities and troubles of business; and therefore consumed the days she had promised to employ for the prosperity of the empire.

The person who, after Alexey Razumoffky, had the most influence on the mind of Elizabeth, was the grand chancellor Alexey Bestucheff Riumin\*, the boldest and the ablest man of all that

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nitzkoi, which, after the death of that favourite, lapsed back to the domains of the crown; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that Catharine II. afterwards bestowed this palace on prince Potemkin.

\* The grand chancellor was the son of a scottish officer, named Best, whom Peter the great brought with him at his return from England. Best, which in the russian language signifies *beast*, is a horrid term of abuse, when applied to a man or woman; therefore Peter familiarly told him to

that attended the imperial court. He governed at once the empress, her favourite, and the ministers of state; he in a manner directed the affairs of the empire both at home and abroad.

Count Ivan Ivanovitch Shuvaloff was also one of the favourites of Elizabeth; but he made no other use of his influence than as a means of augmenting his wealth, which was already enormous; leaving the arts of intrigue to his cousin Peter Ivanovitch Shuvaloff\*. Skilled in the ways of flattery, Ivan Shuvaloff made humanity and glory the chief subjects of his discourse with the empress. He extorted from her, by various means, presents of immense value, and inspired her with the desire of causing the history of Russia to be composed; a desire which he was artful enough likewise to turn to his advantage, by attracting to himself the praises of Voltaire.

In the mean time, Elizabeth, being determined to deprive the family of Anna Ivanovna

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change it. "If your majesty does not approve of my name," said the lieutenant, "I beseech you to alter it to your own mind." "Well then," returned the czar, "let it be Bestucheff, and thou art a Russian at once."

\* Peter Ivanovitch Shuvaloff had conceived the hope of seizing the throne to the prejudice of the grand duke; but this project appeared so extravagant, that Elizabeth herself only made it a subject for laughter.

of



of all hope of re-ascending the throne, in the year 1742 nominated for her successor Charles Peter Ulric, son of the duke of Holstein Gottorp, by Anne daughter of Peter the great. This young prince might by his birth have sooner preferred his claim to the imperial crown; but the law enacted by Peter I. concerning the freedom of choice in naming a successor\*, and several revolutions, had been against

\* Peter I. pushing despotism to its utmost extremity, had made a law, which authorized the sovereign to designate for his successor whom he would. This law was easily eluded in a country where the existing monarch considers what has been enacted by his predecessors as obligatory only when it is his interest to do so, where the constitution and the form of government have no securities. However, the law was made and adopted; and it was not for the legislator to be the first to infringe it. Peter died without designating his successor, without even knowing who should fill his throne. That monarch put his son to death, that his sceptre might not fall into hands which he thought not able to wield it; thus stifling the sentiments of paternal affection from attachment to the empire he had formed. Though apprehensive that his painful and glorious labours would not be continued, that prince, instead of naming his successor, and thereby declaring to his people him on whom he founded his hopes, died without foreseeing the troubles, the incalculable misfortunes, such a neglect might produce. What an error in a legislator! what inconsistency in the conduct of Peter! So true it is, that the greatest man is sometimes guilty of faults which an ordinary person would have avoided.

him. On the death of Peter, in 1725, his widow Catharine I. got possession of the throne, more by the boldness of Mentchicoff, than in consequence of her husband's will. After her death, which happened in 1727, the descendants of Peter recovered the succession. His grandson, the son of the unfortunate Alexey Petrovitch, inherited the throne, which had been bequeathed him by his step-grandmother; but with this condition, that in case he should die without an heir, then her children by Peter the great should succeed. By the premature death of Peter II. in 1730, the male line of the russian tzars of the house of Romanof became extinct; the female succeeded of course. But, during the last reign, a council of its own erection, assuming the style of the high privy council, and taking upon itself the despotic decision in all matters of state; in order to secure its authority, found it necessary to circumscribe that of the princes. This council justly imagined, that the family of Peter the great would never submit to any binding capitulation, and arbitrarily passed by his daughters. Anna Petrovna, the eldest, already deceased in 1728, was the mother of Charles Peter Ulric, duke of Holstein Gottorp, who, therefore, for this time, lost the succession. The second daughter, Elizabeth,

was

was likewise passed over; and the views of the nation were turned to the female posterity of the emperor Ivan Alexieyvitch. But that elder brother of Peter the great, and for a time, his partner in the empire, had voluntarily relinquished the government, and left it to the latter alone: accordingly the offspring of the latter should of right succeed to the sovereigns their progenitors, even if no regard were to be paid to the testament of Catharine. But in respect to the family of Ivan, the council now pursued a like arbitrary conduct, by excluding the eldest daughter Catharina and her posterity from the throne, because they dreaded the impetuous temper of her husband, Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg. The second daughter Anna Ivanovna became empress in 1730, under a very limiting capitulation, which in a fortnight afterwards she tore in pieces. The posterity of Peter was farther and farther removed from the succession. Anna named her nephew, the infant son of her elder sister Catharina, who in the mean time died, to be her successor: and this child was called to be emperor, under a regency, upon her death in 1740. Three weeks after, a revolution displaced the guardian Biron, duke of Courland; and from that event a year had scarce elapsed when a second revolution deposed the



infant emperor, the regent-mother, and the whole family. Elizabeth Petrovna was raised to the throne in December 1741, who immediately, as was before observed, called Peter, the only son of her deceased elder sister Anna, in order to nominate him grand duke, and heir to the imperial throne.—Thus then, though late, the succession was recovered by the rightful heirs, according to the law of primogeniture observed in all the rest of Europe. And now, according to the custom introduced universally in modern times among sovereigns, the next grand concern was to unite the heir apparent in marriage with some european princess, as hitherto the tzars and emperors of the family of Romanof had taken their wives from the daughters of the russian magnates.

Peter had been already duke of Gottorp since the year 1739, on the death of Charles Frederic his father. In December 1741, Elizabeth recalled him to the russian empire, which he had quitted when a child: he arrived at St. Petersburg in February of the following year, and in March accompanied his aunt to her coronation at Mosco. Queen Ulric Eleonora, the sister of Charles XII. who brought her husband Frederic of Hesse-Cassel to the throne of Sweden, having lately died, the estates of that kingdom were consulting

sulting on the nomination of a prince who should hereafter be their king. The 16th of November they fixed their choice on the nephew of the deceased queen, the duke of Götterp, of which they sent him notice by a solemn embassy; but precisely two days after his election in Stockholm, in Mosco he was declared heir to the russian throne.

Peter now, on the 18th of November 1742, in the chapel of the imperial palace, being 14 years of age, having publicly adopted the greek religion, and received at his confirmation the name of Peter Feodorovitch \*, was solemnly proclaimed grand duke, with the title of Imperial Highness, and declared successor to the throne; at the end of which ceremony all present took the oath to maintain his succession.

In the year 1743, when he had attained his 16th year, the empress resolved to provide him

\* The russian nobility always add to their own christian name the christian name of their father, with the termination *ovitch* or *evitch*, which denotes the son, as *ovna* or *evna* implies the daughter. By this means foreigners, on coming into this country, drop the name they have hitherto borne, and are known by another. Thus a Mr. John Jennings, if his father's name were John, on his arrival here is Ivan Ivanovitch, and his sister Anne will be Anna Ivanovna.—Theodore, in russian orthography, is Feodor, and is also adopted for Frederic.

a spouse.

a spouse. Elizabeth and the great Frederic of Prussia were still upon amicable terms. They took up the affairs of Sweden; and the empress first made the proposal, in 1744; to marry the new heir-apparent with Louisa Ulrica, the king of Prussia's sister. For, it is said in the contemporary accounts, that Elizabeth proposed to the king a connection between his youngest sister, Anna Amelia\*, and her nephew. But Frederic, who was not fond of the changes of religion required in this country on such occasions, declined the offer; the acceptance of which might perhaps have occasioned him one formidable foe the less in the seven years war. In his turn he amicably proposed the princess Sophia of Zerbst, as a relation of the grand duke †; and this proposal met her full approbation. The important events of the last fifty years it was certainly impossible for any one to foresee; yet Frederic was too wise to turn his thoughts on any princess but one whom he knew to be worthy of so mighty an empire. He therefore prepared for Catharine the way to the russian throne; and to be introduced to fortune by such a judge of talents, made her success more honourable.

\* She died abbess of Quedlinburg in 1787.

† Their grandfathers were brothers.



The father of Sophia Augusta Frederica was Christian Augustus, prince of Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg, at that time major-general in the prussian service, commander in chief of the regiments of infantry, and governor of the town and fortress of Stettin. Her mother, a woman of parts and beauty, a friend and correspondent of Frederic prince royal of Prussia, of about the same age with herself, was born princess of Holstein, and therefore nearly related to the three great families of the north.—On the death of John Augustus, reigning prince of Zerbst, the 7th of November 1742, without issue, he was succeeded by his two cousins conjointly in the government, John Lewis and Christian Augustus. The eldest of these brothers died, unmarried, the 5th of November 1746; the now sole prince Augustus survived him not long, only to the 16th of March 1747, when he died a general feldt-marshal in the prussian service, and governor of Stettin. Beside his daughter, he left behind him only one son, who had not yet completed his 13th year. The dowager princess was called to the regency, and governed in his name till July 31, 1752, when the young prince, on being declared of age by the emperor, took the government upon him. The mother, as in similar cases had often been done by the  
princes

princes of Germany, retired to Paris, where she died the 20th of May 1760. The son Frederic Augustus bore no resemblance, either in mind or dispositions, to his illustrious sister. He died in 1793, in foreign parts, where he had latterly lived, lamented by none. He had been twice married, but was always childless: the branch Zerbst of the house of Anhalt became extinct with him.

The princess Sophia, of whom we are now to speak, and whom fortune early called to act a part upon a higher stage than that of Zerbst, was born at Stettin the 2d of May 1729\*; consequently

\* This year, 1729, given in all the almanacs and genealogical tables, is now, and was even during the life of the empress, called in question. Some affirm her to have been older by two years; though the marriage of her parents was only consummated a year and a half before. It is pretended that she was afterwards stated to be younger, probably from a piece of gallantry by no means unusual towards ladies; or, according to another phraseology which we meet in the *Moniteur*, (which abruptly pronounces the year of her birth uncertain,) that she might appear younger than her husband, which is even prohibited by the canons of the greek church. But her husband, as we learn from the family pedigree, was her elder by a year and a quarter. Others, on the contrary, declare her to be younger; and that, on her transition to the greek church, it was objected to her, that she was not, by several years, competent to this religious

quently four years after the death of Peter the great, and two years after that of the first Catharine, and in the territory of Frederic, with whom she afterwards shared the renown of the present century. Her mother took the care of her education on herself. Burghers are still living in Stettin, who remember in their childhood to have played with the princess; for she was brought up in the simplest manner, and was called by her parents, in the common diminutive of her name, *Fiékè*. Good-humour, intelligence, and spirit were even then the striking features of her character. Whatever was the

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religious act.—Her age at that time was fifteen years and two months.

The whole of this report, which has been far enough spread to deserve a refutation, is entirely unfounded. As a proof, we will only refer to a little book, which, though of itself insignificant, yet on this occasion, in regard to the time, and as there is no reason to suspect it of incorrectness, must be held valid;—the Berlin Calendar of the year 1731. (It is well known that a calendar is printed in the year before that for which it is to serve; and its accounts are therefore of the second year previous to that of the date it bears on its title-page.) In this we read the following article:

“ Illustrious births from 1 Jan. to ult. December 1729.

“ Soph. Aug. Friederika, daughter of the prince of  
 “ Anhalt-Zerbst, gen. major in the service of the king of  
 “ Prussia, and command. at Stettin, the 2d of May.”

play,



play, she always took upon herself the principal part, and made her little companions know theirs, sometimes with the full emphasis of command. A lady of quality, who frequently saw her, describes her in the following manner :  
“ Her deportment from her earliest years was  
“ always remarkably good ; she grew uncom-  
“ monly handsome, and was a great girl for her  
“ years. Her countenance, without being beau-  
“ tiful, was very agreeable : to which the pecu-  
“ liar gaiety and friendliness which she ever dis-  
“ played gave additional charms. Her educa-  
“ tion was conducted by her mother alone, who  
“ kept her strictly, and never suffered her to  
“ shew the least symptoms of pride, to which  
“ she had some propensity ; accustoming her,  
“ from her earliest infancy, to salute the ladies  
“ of distinction, who came to visit the princess,  
“ with the marks of respect that became a child ;  
“ an honour which my mother on all such occa-  
“ sions enjoyed, and which she was obliged never  
“ to omit, by the express command of the  
“ princess.”

These days, which Sophia passed in easy seclusion, were always recollected by Catharine with pleasure. While arbitrary sovereign of the russian empire, she still retained sentiments of affection for the place of her birth, and for

several persons of her former acquaintance. She annually sent to the magistrate of Stettin the medals she caused to be struck in commemoration of the events of her reign, as well in gold as in silver. Shortly after her coming to the crown, she sent to the society of marksmen of the town a present of 1000 ducats. In her youth she had frequently attended the amusements of these burghers, and at times even shot at the mark. Soon after her arrival in Petersburg, she sent the lady who waited upon her, and gave her the first lessons in the french language \*, some beautiful furs; and to her writing-master †, a sum of money. In the very late years of her life, she transmitted her picture, accompanied with the most flattering expressions of esteem, to a lady formerly her playmate. This lady, who has permitted herself to be named as the communicator of these anecdotes of the early life of Catharine, is the countess von Mellin, at Gartz. The particulars, though trifling in themselves, yet, as authentically relating to the illustrious subject of these memoirs, are of consequence enough to be inserted here.

\* A demoiselle Quardel, then married to a burgermaster of Demmin.

† Laurent, the schoolmaster belonging to the french congregation in Stettin.

She

She lived till her fifteenth year alternately in Stettin and in Dornburg or in Zerbst; but she always accompanied her mother on several little journies, which contributed much to the forming of her mind and manners. The princess often made some stay at Hamburgh with her mother, the widow of the bishop of Lubeck, at whose court was a M. von Brummer, who filled the post of a gentleman of the bed-chamber \*, who communicated to the young princess the most instructive works of the then living authors, which had a beneficial effect on her mind and heart. She was always addicted to reading, to reflection, to learning, and to employment. Still oftener was the princess at Brunswick, with her relation and former preceptress, Elizabeth Sophia Maria, dowager duchess of Wolfenbittel, born princess of Holstein-Norburg. Here she used sometimes to pass the whole summer; she was there also in December 1743, and caused her daughter Sophia to be daily instructed in the doctrines of the lutheran religion, by the court-preacher Dovè, who at that time little thought that his illustrious disciple would so suddenly afterwards adopt the very different faith of an-

\* Afterwards an oberhof-marshal von Brummer went from Holstein with the grand duke Peter to Russia. *Query, whether the same?*



other church. The visits to Berlin were likewise not unfrequent; for example, in January 1742, on occasion of the marriage ceremony of the prince of Prussia, father of the present king; and for the last time about the beginning of the year 1744, from whence the journey was farther continued to Russia.

In the spring of the year 1742, shortly before her departure from Stettin, the young princess wrote the following short note to the countess von Mellin :

" MADAME,                      à Stettin, ce 20 Mars 1742.

“ Je ne manquerai pas de vous envoyer mon  
“ portrait, puisque vous me faites l'honneur de  
“ me le demander ; & je vous prie, madame, de  
“ l'accepter comme un gage de mon amitié, &  
“ vous prie en même tems de me conserver aussi  
“ la vôtre. Je me recommande a l'honneur de  
“ votre souvenir, & suis,

"Madame,

“ Votre fidele amie & fervante,

" SOPHIE AUGUSTE FRIDERIQUE."

As, so far as it appears, Catharine afterwards never returned to Stettin, these lines were most probably intended as an affectionate farewell\*.

## Three

\* With the mother of the princess the countess always continued an epistolary correspondence, but with the latter

Three years after Peter had been called to Russia, it was therefore agreed to marry him with

it dropped, who seemed likewise to have forgotten the promised portrait. After she had ascended the throne as empress, the countess von Mellin sought various opportunities of reminding her of it; but probably the letters never reached her hand, as no answer ensued. The hope of obtaining the picture was therefore abandoned.

At the instance of her son, however, to whom she shewed the note, the countess wrote once more to the empress in 1789, inclosing the lines in her own hand-writing, and delivered it to the care of her nephew, count Augustus von Mellin, president in Riga, who has made himself so famous by his excellent maps of Livonia. Very soon afterwards she was agreeably surprised at receiving, by the hands of count Nesselrode, ambassador from Russia at the court of Berlin, not only an exceedingly fine miniature of the empress, richly set with diamonds, accompanied with a golden *souvenir* also set with brilliants, with the cypher E. II. (Ekatarina the second), but also this very gracious letter:

“ Madame la comtesse de Mellin. Vous m’avez fait  
 “ plaisir de me rappeler la promesse que je vous avois laissée  
 “ par écrit, en partant de Stettin, de vous envoyer mon  
 “ portrait. Il est vrai que les nombreuses distractions dans  
 “ lesquelles je fus dès lors entraînée, me firent perdre cet  
 “ engagement de vue; mais il n’en a pas été de même de  
 “ votre souvenir, celui-ci ne s’est point effacé de mon  
 “ esprit, & je me suis souvent retracé les momens agréables  
 “ que j’ai passés en votre société. Vous m’avez donné de  
 “ votre côté une preuve bien convaincante de votre attachement  
 “ pour moi, en conservant un si grand nombre d’an-  
 “ nées

with Sophia Augusta of Anhalt-Zerbst\*, who was about one year younger than himself, and who, on embracing the greek religion, changed her name to that of Catharina Alexievna, a name which she has rendered so illustrious since.

All Europe was deceived on the causes of this alliance, which was attributed to the intervention of the king of Prussia. It is true that Frederic was desirous of seeing it brought to effect, but, without a motive unconnected with politics, the solicitations of that monarch would have fallen to the ground.

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“ nées mon billet que vous venez de m’adresser en original.  
 “ Je vous le renvoye conformément a vos désirs, en y joignant le portrait dont je suis restée votre débitrice. Vous  
 “ n’y reconnoîtrez plus les traits sous lesquels vous m’avez  
 “ autrefois connue, mais je vous prie de croire que mes sentimens pour vous sont encore les mêmes, que je prendrai  
 “ toujours beaucoup d’intérêt à ce qui vous concerne, &  
 “ que je vous souhaite un bonheur constant jusqu’à la fin de  
 “ vos jours. Si ces assurances de ma part peuvent ajouter  
 “ quelque chose à votre contentement, je vous les donne de  
 “ bien bon cœur, étant très parfaitement, Madame la comtesse de Mellin,

“ Votre bien affectionnée,

“ A St. Petersburg,  
 “ ce 31 Mars 1789.”

“ CATHERINE.

\* She was born April 25, 1729.



Long ere she mounted the throne of the tzars, Elizabeth had been promised to the young prince of Holstein-Eutin, brother to the princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, mother of Catharine ; but at the instant when the marriage was about to be celebrated, the prince fell sick, and died. Elizabeth, who loved him to excess, became inconsolable ; and in the bitterness of her grief made a vow to renounce the nuptial tie : a vow which, as we have already observed, was, at least as to the public, religiously kept. Even if Elizabeth was seen afterwards to yield to the gallantries of several of her courtiers, she nevertheless retained a lively tenderness for the object of her first affection. She paid a sort of worship to his memory, and never mentioned him without tears.

The princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, not ignorant of the tender remembrance preserved by Elizabeth for her brother, resolved to take advantage of it for securing a throne to her daughter. She trusted her plan to the king of Prussia, who applauded her for it, and shortly after supported it with all his might.

The princess of Zerbst repaired to Petersburg, where Elizabeth received her with friendship. Her daughter, who was handsome, and endowed with all the graces of youth, immediately made  
a pretty

a pretty forcible impression on the heart of the young grand duke; and as he himself was at that time well made, and of a very good figure, the attachment became reciprocal; and it was soon the subject of the conversations at court. Elizabeth herself remarked them without seeming to be displeased. The princess of Zerbst, who spied the favourable moment, lost no time, but ran and threw herself at the feet of the empress, represented to her the inclination of the two young lovers as an unconquerable passion; and calling to her mind the love she had herself borne to the prince of Holstein, her brother, she conjured her to promote the happiness of the niece of that so much regretted prince.

There was, doubtless, no need of all this for determining the empress to consent to their union. She mingled her tears with those of the princess of Zerbst; and, embracing her, promised her that her daughter should be grand duchess.

The day following the choice of Elizabeth was announced to the council and to the foreign ministers. The marriage was fixed for a day shortly to arrive; and preparations for its celebration were arranged with a magnificence worthy of the heir of the throne of the Russias.

But fortune, which had hitherto seemed so favourable to the grand duke, now began to change its course; and Catharine was threatened with the loss of her lover, as Elizabeth had been deprived of her's. The grand duke was attacked with a violent fever; and a small-pox of a very malignant nature soon after made its appearance. The prince, however, did not fall under the violence of this disease, though he retained the cruel marks of it. The metamorphosis was terrible. He not only lost the comeliness of his face, but it became for a time distorted, and almost hideous.

None were permitted to approach the young princess from the apartment of the grand duke; but her mother regularly brought her tidings of the turns of the prince's distemper. Observing how much he was altered, and desirous of weakening the effect the first sight of him might have upon her daughter, she described him as one of the ugliest men imaginable; recommending her, at the same time, to dissemble the disgust she must naturally feel at his appearance. Notwithstanding this sage precaution, the young princess could not revisit the grand duke without feeling a secret horror; she was artful enough, however, to repress her emotion, and running to meet him, fell upon his neck, and embraced him with marks



marks of the most lively joy. But no sooner was she retired to her apartment than she fell into a swoon; and it was three hours before she recovered the use of her senses.

The uneasiness which the young princess had just experienced, was however no inducement to her to endeavour at deferring the period of her union with the grand duke. The empress contemplated this alliance with pleasure; the princess of Zerbst was passionately desirous to see it concluded; and the suggestions of ambition acting more powerfully on the heart of Catharine than even the will of her mother, and that of the empress, permitted her not a moment's hesitation.

The nuptials were accordingly solemnized; but, notwithstanding the attachment which was so manifest between the grand duke and the princess from the first moment of their meeting, their love was fated not to be of long duration; and the alteration that had taken place in the lineaments of the prince's visage was not the sole cause of the indifference of his young consort\*. However, they lived some time in an  
apparently

\* Il avoit une imperfection qui, quoiqu'aisée à détruire, sembloit bien plus cruelle: la violence de son amour, ses efforts réitérés ne purent le faire réussir à consommer le mariage.

apparently good understanding, which Catharine supported as long as she conceived it to be necessary.

This princess, brought up with all possible care under the eye of a prudent mother, and at no great distance from the court of the great Frederic, where reigned such a taste for the sciences and the fine arts, added to the beauty, and to the quickness of understanding which she had received from nature, a very extensive knowledge, and the facility of expressing herself with elegance in several languages.

Peter too had sense; but his education had been totally neglected. He possessed an excellent heart; but he wanted politeness. He was of a good stature, but ugly and almost deformed. He frequently blushed at the superiority of his wife, and his wife often blushed at seeing him so little worthy of her: in short, he was not ca-

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riage. Si ce prince étoit confié à quelqu'un qui eut un peu d'expérience, l'obstacle qui s'opposoit à ses desirs eut été vaincu. Le dernier rabin de Petersbourg ou le moindre chirurgien l'en auroit délivré. Mais telle étoit la honte dont l'accablé ce malheur qu'il n'eut pas même le courage de le révéler, & la princesse, qui ne recevoit plus ses caresses qu'avec répugnance, & qui n'étoit pas alors moins inexprimentée que lui, ne songea ni à le consoler, ni à lui faire chercher des moyens qui le ramenassent dans ses bras.

pable

pable of making her happy. Hence arose that mutual dislike, which the people of the court were not long in finding out, and which was visibly augmenting from day to day.

By one of those strange perversions of judgment which often appear in the uncultivated mind, Elizabeth pretended to think that her nephew was too well informed, and that he was in danger of becoming too amiable by his manners, and too enviable by his knowledge. From the very moment of her choosing him for her successor, she regarded him as a rival. For this reason it probably was, that she took him from under the tuition of the enlightened Brummer, who had begun his education in Holstein; and placed about him Tshoglokoff, a man of mean talents and a narrow mind. In vain did a few disinterested persons at the court of Petersburg, for there are some such in all courts; in vain did some estimable women, for there were some such even about Elizabeth; in vain did these persons, lamenting the ignorance and the sort of desertion in which the young Peter was left, endeavour to represent to his aunt the danger he incurred: the empress was deaf to their remonstrances, and even on some occasions repulsed them with harshness.

Among



Among many examples one only need be mentioned, that of a woman of the bed-chamber named Johanna, who had the spirit to ask this princess why she kept the grand duke from all the deliberations of the council. "If you permit him not to know any thing of what is necessary for governing the country," added she, "what do you think will become of him, and what do you think will become of the empire?" All the answer she got was, that Elizabeth looking at her angrily, said, "Johanna, knowest thou the way to Siberia?"—However, the generous Johanna escaped with only the fright, and took care for the future to make no more remonstrances on that head to her mistress.

But, if some few dared to lift up their voice in favour of Peter, a great many others made themselves heard against him. The principal families had beheld him with jealousy from the instant of his arrival, as a man who would share with them the power they had now long enjoyed, or perhaps entirely deprive them of it. Among those who strove the most to injure him, we may reckon the great chancellor Bestucheff. From the very day of the grand duke's marriage, he had formed the design of excluding that prince from the throne; and though his plan

plan was so bold and dangerous, he was perpetually employed about the means of bringing it to effect. His foresight was too great to allow him to flatter himself with the expectation of seeing Peter completely disinherited, but he hoped at least to banish him to the camps and armies, and to place Catharine at the head of affairs.

No sooner had Bestucheff matured his plan, than he communicated it to several of the courtiers whom he knew to have imbibed the same rancour with himself. Even women were admitted into the confidence, and it was not they who were the least serviceable in promoting the chancellor's plan. This minister conducted his intrigue with the utmost address. He every day wrote the instructions which he gave to the persons of his party, on small scraps of paper, and in terms which could be understood by none but themselves; then shutting these papers in a snuff-box with a double bottom, under pretence of offering snuff, he distributed them to the individuals for whom they were designed. By this means his confidants were informed of all they were to say or to do throughout the day. Their principal employment was to blacken the grand duke in the eyes of Elizabeth. They magnified his slightest defects, they aggravated his most venial faults, they imputed to him vices  
which

which he had not as yet, and which they wanted to make him contract. They even went so far as to alarm the empress with fears that her nephew might become dangerous to her authority.

The feeble-minded Elizabeth was but too prone to lend an ear to these vile insinuations. Naturally timid and suspicious, she at length abhorred him whom she had no reason to distrust for a single moment.

But to what cause are we to ascribe this conduct in the ambitious Bestucheff? Keen and crafty, this minister had long perceived the grand duke's character to be feeble and unsettled. Doubtless, with equal perspicacity, he had observed that the grand duchess was the very reverse of her husband. Ought he not then reasonably to expect that if they mounted the throne, it would be more easy for him to govern the prince than the princess? No; he cherished no such expectation, for he knew that Peter entertained a strong resentment against him for a trick he had played the duke his father, in relation to his hereditary estates in Holstein.

Bestucheff, who had applied himself to business and intrigue for more than forty years; Bestucheff, who, after having accompanied the russian  
ambassadors



ambassadors at the congress of Utrecht, had formed his mind in England under the ministers of George I. and who, at his return to Petersburg, had been appointed minister to the court of Copenhagen, and from thence went to Hamburg in quality of envoy extraordinary to the circle of Lower Saxony; Bestucheff, passing through Kiel, had had the impudence and dexterity to carry off from the archives of the dukes of Holstein the testament of the empress Catharine I. and the original acts relating to the connections of those dukes with Russia.—This it was that Peter could never forgive; and Bestucheff severely felt it.

Peter likewise on another account entertained a dislike to the chancellor; he always supported the interests of the house of Austria with his aunt, against the king of Prussia, to whom this young prince had devoted himself with a sort of idolatry.

The grand chancellor had had the address to bring into his party almost all those for whom Peter seemed to have an inclination, and who only approached him as spies upon his actions in order to injure him. Of this number was Cyril Razumoffsky, who had made one of those fortunes which are regarded as prodigies in other countries, but which are very frequent in Russia.

Cyril

Cyril was a peasant who, immediately on being informed of the favour which the field marshal his brother enjoyed with the empress, set out from the Ukraine, his native place, and arrived with his balalaika\*, at Petersburg. Cyril was presently created count, commander of the ismailoff guards, hetman of the Kosaks of Little Russia, and even president of the academy of sciences†. Though of an extraction so gross, and without education, Cyril Razumoffsky, cunning and pliant, insinuated himself into the good graces of the grand duke‡; and, though but lately come to court, he betrayed the prince with an effrontery and baseness worthy of an experienced courtier.

To the desire of promoting the aims of the grand chancellor, were soon added, in the heart of Cyril Razumoffsky, the motives of personal vengeance. In proportion as his honours in-

\* A rude sort of guitar, with only three strings, in common use among the russian boors.

† He was in the sequel knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Nefski, of St. Anne, and of the white eagle of Poland.

‡ The grand duke called him *his brother*, *his friend*, which is not extraordinary, as *drug moi* and *bratitz* are common terms of familiar address and salutation from superiors as well as equals: but Peter would have Cyril Razumoffsky to give him the same appellations.

creased,

creased, he only bore with impatience the humours of the grand duke; who, to say the truth, in the orgies to which Cyril himself would excite him, frequently recalled to his mind, in too coarse a manner and too publicly, his birth, his balalaika, and the servile occupations of his youth.

The grand duke had another favourite, who did not betray him; but who unhappily had neither the foresight nor the address to prevent the rest from betraying him: this was his aide-de-camp general Gudovitch. A native of Little Russia, Gudovitch wished to become its hetman, and Peter favoured his pretension, even in the sight of Cyril Razumoffsky. Thenceforward Cyril vowed in his heart an implacable hatred to the prince.

He offered the grand chancellor a country house which he possessed not far from Kamennoi-noss, as a place where they might deliberate more at their ease on the project of ruining the grand duke; and it was at that very house that afterwards were held all those traitorous councils, at the head whereof were at first Bestucheff, Cyril, and afterwards Shuvaloff, the young princefs Dashkoff, and Maria Simeonovna Tshogloloff, lady of honour to the empress, and one of her most dangerous confidants. The conspirators consulted concerning the persons whom they wanted

to



to associate with them. They gave an exact account of all the steps they had severally taken, prepared new projects of attack, and concerted the surest measures to deprive of the throne the last sprout from the stem of Peter the great.

They wanted, for example, to persuade the empress that her nephew was addicted to drunkenness, even long before he was in the habit of drinking to any degree of excess, a habit which he contracted at first, without doubt, merely from the want of employment, from the irksomeness of his situation, and from the base suggestions of those that surrounded him. The method they adopted was the following :

Simeonovna Tshoglokkoff, discoursing one day with Elizabeth, and perceiving that the monarch was discontented with the grand duke, she told her with an afflicted air, that it was a great misfortune that this prince, who was still so young, should give himself to drinking. Elizabeth, who now for the first time heard the grand duke accused of that vice, considered it as mere calumny, and defied Simeonovna to make good her assertion. "Nothing is easier," returned the impudent Simeonovna. "Your majesty may be convinced of it by your own eyes." A few days afterwards, knowing that the grand duke was a little out of order and kept his room,

she went to visit him; when, watching her opportunity, she asked him permission to keep him company at dinner. Peter good-naturedly consented, and bid her place herself at table with him. During the repast, Simeonovna putting on a humour uncommonly gay and fond, told the prince that she would cure him with a bottle of champagne. The bottle was called for, the artful Simeonovna seized it, slyly threw into it a pinch of spanish snuff\*, and, making the grand duke repeatedly drink bumpers of it to the health of his aunt, she completely intoxicated him. The perfidious lady of honour immediately ran to acquaint the empress. Elizabeth came; and, not knowing the particulars of the scene that had just passed, beheld with grief and indignation the sad condition of her unhappy nephew. Already too much disposed to take up prejudices against him, she henceforward more readily believed all that Simeonovna Tshoglokoëff and her accomplices were desirous of imputing to the prince; and, emboldened by this success, the conspirators proceeded in their insolence to propagate against him the most scandalous reports.

\* Spanish snuff!—one pinch of it in a bottle of champagne! Would not the wine alone have been sufficient? Are the virtues of spanish snuff known in our taverns?

To all this, it must be added that the state of inactivity and loneliness in which Peter was left to languish, and the unhappy pliancy of his character, tended infallibly to favour the designs of his enemies.

When the empress was persuaded that he delivered himself up to excess, she not only suppressed the gratification of fifty thousand rubles, of which she customarily made him a present on the anniversary of his birth, but she gave orders so far to diminish the expences of his table, that the prince and his guests had not always sufficient to eat. Peter on these occasions would suffer some complaints to escape him not entirely free from expressions of petulance and ill-humour; and these complaints were carefully preserved, exaggerated, and delivered to the empress.

Shortly after the marriage of the grand duke, his aunt had made him a present of Oranienbaum; a country palace that had formerly belonged to the famous Mentchikoff; and as soon as the fair weather permitted him to leave Petersburg, where he lived more like a state prisoner than the heir to the throne, thither Peter used to retire. There, freed from the presence of his aunt, and throwing off all constraint, he amused himself with dressing his people in a german uniform,



uniform, and making them perform the prussian exercise. Elizabeth seemed highly to approve of this occupation, thinking it might preserve her nephew from getting a taste for dangerous pleasures, and even from a disposition to political intrigues, which she considered as far more dangerous still. At the same time she gave orders that, from several regiments, a sufficient number of soldiers should be drafted and sent to the garrison at Oranienbaum, in addition to those of the grand duke; but this attention, which wore the semblance of a favour conferred on the prince, was perhaps nothing more than an additional precaution against him. However this be, he received it with transport, and gave himself up, with renovated ardour, to his military and prussian inclination.

It has long been the custom for numbers of Germans to go and seek their fortunes in Russia. The elevation of a holstein prince to the rank of grand duke drew them thither in still greater multitudes. The soldiers whom Peter kept at Oranienbaum were almost all of that nation. Besides these, he had made a selection of many others who understood music or displayed talents for acting of plays; and of these he formed a company, whom he made to represent the best pieces of the german theatre.

However, neither the theatre nor military exercises could employ the whole time of the prince; and the void was but too often filled up with the habits he had begun to contract in the indolence of the palace of Petersburg.

The party formed against him knowing his extreme propensity to every thing that was prussian, had found means to persuade him that in Prussia every officer had continually his pipe in his mouth, and was as constantly employed in drinking and gaming. The young people who surrounded him, added, if not from malice, at least from libertinism, example to precept; and, in conformity to it, he became smoker, drinker, gamester.

Catharine all this time was pursuing a conduct diametrically opposite to that of her husband. Directed by her vigilant mother, she was solely employed in gaining partisans from among the most powerful persons of the court. Her violent disposition to pleasure was mute at the calls of ambition; and if she did not succeed so far as to captivate the friendship of the empress, she at least extorted her esteem.

In the mean time, what will perhaps seem difficult to be believed, the princess of Zerbst was neglectful of that circumspection, with regard to herself, which she inspired into her daughter.

daughter. Elizabeth considered her as a friend or a sister, and reposed an unlimited confidence in her. Proud of her influence, the princess of Zerbst seemed in haste to abuse it. She must mix in the intrigues of the courtiers, make herself the dispenser of imperial favours, in short, pry into the secret of the most important concerns. Her arrogance disgusted the favourites, her curiosity was vexatious to the ministers. They united together to rouse the jealousy of the empress, and to free her from a yoke under which she had insensibly bowed her neck. Their efforts were not in vain. Elizabeth almost immediately withdrew the confidence she had granted to the mother of Catharine.

The princess of Zerbst, distressed at this reverse of fortune, turned on every side for a remedy. She asked advice of the king of Prussia and of the king of Sweden; but she was observed with a watchful eye. It became extremely difficult for her to maintain correspondences. She was fain to have recourse to the refinements of artifice to get a letter conveyed to the king of Sweden. On one occasion she adopted the following method: A ball was given at court; the princess of Zerbst was there with the grand duchess her daughter. All at once the grand duchess advanced towards the aged



Lestoc; who, according to his custom, was amusing himself in chatting with the women; and, throwing a glove at him, she said she would dance with him. On taking up the glove, Lestoc perceived that it contained a paper. On this the artful courtier, smiling to the grand duchess, said, "I accept the challenge, madam; but, instead of restoring you your glove, I beseech you to give me the other, that I may present them both, from you, to my wife; the favour will then be complete." The country dance being finished, Lestoc stole away, hiding the gloves under his waistcoat, fearing lest the empress might have had some intelligence of what had passed, and should cause him to be searched at the door.

All the stratagems put in practice by the princess of Zerbst were not so successful. Every day brought with it some complaint against her, or discovered some fresh intrigue. The resentment of the empress was now at its height; she ordered the princess to quit the empire.


The princess of Zerbst, at parting from her daughter, experienced the most poignant sorrow. Catharine herself could not, without great regret, see her mother depart; but the hope of the throne, which had fortified her against other misfortunes, supported her under this; and love soon

soon brought its consolations to mingle them with those of pride.

The young men that surrounded the grand duke did not all, like the prince, resign themselves entirely to the pleasures of the table, to play, and to military parade. There was especially one who distinguished himself as much by his taste for the amiable arts, as he was admired for the graces of his person: it was Soltikoff, the prince's chamberlain. He made one in all his parties; but he was ashamed of his company. He was tolerably well versed in french literature; he knew by heart the finest passages of Racine and Voltaire, and in the recitation of them his voice seemed to heighten their beauties. Though scarcely outgrown the boy, he had already the reputation of having obtained the favours of several belles of the court; and his success made him proud. Soltikoff, it is true, was held rather deficient in courage with the men, but he was not the less presumptuous nor less bold with the women. Perhaps he would have trembled at the sight of a naked sword; but for extending the number of his conquests in gallantry, he had often been thought to brave the deserts of Siberia. In short, the husbands of Petersburg regarded him as the most agreeable and the most dangerous man in town.

Soltikoff was not long ere he lifted his eyes even to the spouse of his master; and vanity yet more than love led him to conceive the temerarious design of captivating her heart. He began by sedulously studying the inclinations of the princess. He perceived that, notwithstanding the constraint in which she lived, Catharine had always a propensity to pleasure; and that the solitude of Oranienbaum rendered dissipation necessary to her. He accordingly procured her some new amusement with every returning day. He engaged the grand duke to give frequent entertainments, he took upon himself the task of inventing and directing them, secretly giving the grand duchess to understand that she was the sole object for which they were made, and that it was to him alone she was indebted for them. Catharine was not insensible to such gallant, such continued attentions. The seducing figure of Soltikoff, and the vivacity of his wit, had made impression on her mind. His assiduities made him master of her affections; but Soltikoff, sensible that the heart of the grand duchess was no ordinary conquest, was afraid of betraying himself by an imprudent explanation. It is even not impossible that at first he meant only to feign a passion which in the sequel grew up into a real attachment. In short, for a considerable time

past,





past, their fondness had been mutual, without any declaration on the part of either.

An unfortunate event was the occasion of accelerating this declaration. Soltikoff lost his father. His duty obliged him to repair to Mosco. He obtained the grand duke's permission to depart, and at taking leave of Catharine he was not sufficiently master of his feelings to prevent his discovering how much this parting cost him. The princess, who saw his tears, was no less touched herself at the cause from whence they flowed; and fixing her eyes, with a look of extreme significance, on Soltikoff, she conjured him to shorten his absence as much as he could, and to return and forget his grief in the midst of a brilliant court, where without him there could be no such thing as pleasure.

The character of Soltikoff renders it easy to judge what effect these words must have produced. He thought he perceived that he was beloved; and his conscious pride redoubled. His journey took him up but a few days. What were domestic concerns, when balanced with the felicity he expected? What was Mosco to him in comparison of Petersburg? He abandoned all for returning to secure his triumph.

However, on approaching again the grand duchess, all the flattering ideas with which he had

had regaled his delighted imagination began now to dissolve and vanish. His audacity forsook him. He found himself a prey to the most serious and gloomy reflections. He saw at once all the danger of his amour. He could no longer presume to flatter himself, that Catharine would so far forget what she owed to her rank, to her spouse, as to accept the assiduities of a simple chamberlain. But if he were so happy as to see her vouchsafe to correspond to his passion, could he imagine that he should deceive the penetrating eyes of the jealous and humiliated courtiers, by whom she was surrounded? In a word, how risk a confession which might be repaid by a perpetual imprisonment, or even with the loss of his life? He shuddered, he trembled, he resolved to renounce the fallacious hopes his unbounded arrogance had made him cherish.

In this state of perturbation and despondence, Soltikoff no longer displayed that brilliant gaiety for which he had hitherto been always distinguished. In vain did he sometimes affect an air of easy elegance which he now no more possessed. A settled melancholy corroded his heart, and was depicted on his face; his health was visibly declining. The grand duchess took the alarm; and one day, on finding herself alone with him, desired him to reveal the cause of so sudden an alteration.

alteration. Soltikoff, unable at this moment to stifle or resist a passion thus preying on his vitals, avowed it in expressions of the tenderest emotion. Catharine heard him without anger; she seemed even to pity him; but, with a collected air, she counselled him to renounce an inclination, of the irregularity and danger whereof he ought to be sensible. Although still very young, Soltikoff knew but too well the female heart, to be ignorant that she who allows herself to listen to a lover, has already begun to approve him. He took courage. He threw himself at the knees of the grand duchess, and embraced them with boldness. The princess was agitated; she let fall some tears; and retiring precipitately from the transports of Soltikoff, to go and shut herself in her cabinet, she addressed to him that verse which Monimia speaks to Xiphares in the tragedy of Mithridates:—

“ Et méritez les pleurs que vous m’allez coûter\*.”

From that moment the chamberlain resumed his wonted gaiety with returning hope; and the happy alteration in his behaviour was felt by all around him.

While the grand duke and the grand duchess were passing the summer at Oranienbaum, the

\* And merit those tears you are about to cost me.

empress



empress Elizabeth remained at Peterhoff, though not without sending, from time to time, for the imperial couple to share in the pleasures of her court. On these little expeditions Soltikoff never failed to make one of the party. In order to avoid being present at the entertainments and festivities of the palace, where the prying eyes of indiscreet observers would throw too great a restraint on her conduct, Catharine feigned an indisposition. The grand duke was so infatuated in regard to his chamberlain, that he even engaged him himself to share in the solitude of his wife, and to exert all the talents of his capacity to amuse and to cheer her. This was exactly what the two lovers desired; and it is not difficult to imagine that they turned the moments to profit. This tide of success seemed now at its height; and the young chamberlain experienced a signal turn of affairs. The grand duchess was not always sufficiently on her guard for concealing the inclination she entertained for him. The courtiers, always artful, always envious, began by remarking the preference that wounded their pride, and were not long in tracing it to its source. The ruin of Soltikoff was now pretty certain. The very men who shewed him the most marks of friendship, and who of course had the most means of doing him

diservice,

diservice, secretly found the method of conveying to the empress their suspicions of an amour between the chamberlain and the grand duchess. Of an amorous disposition herself, Elizabeth perhaps was not bound to take great offence at the intrigue: but she was haughty; and in the first bursts of her indignation, she declared that Soltikoff should pay for his temerity by an exile into Siberia.

Soltikoff, informed of the dangers that menaced him, immediately set about the means of avoiding them. He saw that the best method of preventing the storm from bursting upon him was boldly to brave it. Assuming, therefore, a look of assurance, and putting on the air of affronted innocence, he ran to the grand duke to complain of the calumnies that had been so audaciously spread. He reminded the prince that he had only presented himself to the grand duchess in consequence of express orders received from himself; and that he had never beheld her but with all the respect that was due to her rank. He remarked to him, that these invidious slanders, though outwardly lanced against him, were intended as a clandestine but certain attack on the heir of the empire, since in these infamous reports the honour of the crown was infinitely more implicated than the reputation

reputation of an individual like him. He concluded by adding, that, in order to furnish no farther pretence to the jealousy of his enemies, and to calm the mind of the empress, he prayed the grand duke for permission to retire to Mosco.

The speech of Soltikoff not only imposed on the credulous prince, but persuaded him that for his own honour he should keep the chamberlain about the person of his spouse. He ordered him to remain; then asked for an audience of the empress, in which he complained of the insolent reports that had been industriously sent abroad: he defended Soltikoff with so much vehemence, and with such specious arguments, that Elizabeth began to believe herself, that the reports which had been raised about him might possibly be no more than the fabrication of envy.

While this scene was transacting in the apartment of Elizabeth, the grand duchess did not remain idle: she was more interested than any one in putting a stop to these injurious reports, and to preserve her lover. Indeed, who was more capable than herself of undertaking her own defence? Informed by madame Narishkin of the pains the grand duke had taken in the justification of Soltikoff, and of the success he had just obtained, she immediately presented herself



herself to the empress. Forgetting the air of meekness she had hitherto always put on in the presence of the sovereign, she broke forth into reproaches on the credit that could be given to such odious suspicions. She represented how much the proofs demanded by the empress of her innocence must be fallacious and uncertain, and how all public inquiry must infallibly be attended with disgrace, as on all occasions of this nature the smallest doubt always left an indelible blot. Grief, vengeance, rage, by turns gave so much force to her eloquence, that Elizabeth was unable to resist it: she appeared moved, melted, persuaded; and the victory of Catharine was still more complete than that of the grand duke.

In the evening, as is the custom at the court of St. Petersburg, there was a circle at the palace, and the empress with eagerness embraced the opportunity for testifying in the eyes of the court, that Soltikoff had nothing to apprehend from her. The chamberlain was engaged at play: Elizabeth advancing to the back of his chair, asked him, with that grace which she had the art of throwing into all that she said, whether he was happy?—"Never, madam," returned Soltikoff,—“I am sorry for it,” she replied, “but perhaps that may be partly by your own fault. It is said that you intend to quit  
“ the

“ the grand duke ? I cannot believe it ; and I  
“ invite you to remain about him : be assured  
“ that if your enemies should attempt again to  
“ injure you, I shall be the first to defend  
“ you.”

Though it had been true that Soltikoff had seriously formed the design of retiring from court, these words would have been enough to detain him ; and even though his enemies might have acquired the most convincing proofs of his audacity, they would have stopped their mouths for ever.

In the mean time the grand duke cohabited with his spouse ; and thenceforward Soltikoff thought he had no longer any danger to prevent ; he now tasted without disturbance or remorse those pleasures from the consequences of which he had nothing to dread. Catharine herself had no need to be so severe in her precautions ; her first success had given her additional boldness. Besides, the example of the empress Elizabeth, whose manners were growing more and more corrupt, and who engaged in new follies from day to day, seemed to afford some excuse for her passion. The empress questioned nothing of an intrigue which she might easily have perceived ; or, if she observed it, she at least no longer evinced either anger or suspicion.

Time,

Time, which enfeebles and often extinguishes the most ardent passions, diminished not that of Catharine. That princess expected shortly to become a mother; Soltikoff was daily acquiring a greater ascendant over her heart: but his happiness was at its ultimate term; he became himself the artificer of his ruin.

The grand chancellor Bestucheff, with the rest of the courtiers, had been silent on the favour enjoyed by Soltikoff; but he was not on that account the less vigilant and attentive. Incessantly occupied with the project of displacing the grand duke from his succession to the throne, the veteran minister perceived that the surest means for succeeding was to gain over the favourite of the prince himself.

Bestucheff, whom the title of grand chancellor, the general administration of affairs, his influence, his profound policy, rendered one of the most powerful persons of the empire, became the humble sycophant of Soltikoff. He lavished on him the marks of deference, praises, caresses, in the greatest profusion. He revealed to him the secrets that were of the utmost importance; he frequently consulted him, or feigned to consult him; he at length so completely gained his confidence, that the chamberlain, blinded by pride, thought he had no firmer a friend than the wily



minister: while he, who now saw what authority he had acquired over Soltikoff, and thought of nothing but to free himself from so dangerous a rival, induced him to take the most fatal measures. He told him, that, for augmenting the ascendancy he had gained, and to render himself entirely master of the grand duke's mind, it was necessary to put away from the prince all persons of birth, of ambition, or talents, and to let him have none about him but vile and obscure people, or who, being placed by Soltikoff himself, would be servilely devoted to his interest. Soltikoff perceived not the snare. He was moreover incapable of penetrating into the motive of so perfidious an advice. His favour made all things possible to him; his ambition increased; he attempted to secure to himself an absolute sway; and he was eager to put in practice what the old chancellor had told him. Thus one moment of imprudence demolished a triumph of several years.

This new tempest raised against the favourite, blackened all at once. The young courtiers seeing themselves removed from the heir of the throne, broke out into murmurs, and joined their efforts to those of the friends of Bestucheff. The chancellor rekindled the audacity of Tschogolokoff, of Razumoffsky, and those of their party; who

who at length all united together to cause their complaints to reach the ears of Elizabeth. Bestucheff perceived that it was time for him to speak to the empress himself. He accordingly had a secret conference with her; in which he recalled to her mind all that she already knew of the weakness of the grand duke, of his extravagancies, and the riot to which he was addicted. He told her that these extravagancies and this riot took their origin from Soltikoff; who, that he might the more effectually subject the prince to his will, suffered none to approach him but abject flatterers and vile debauchees. He revived the suspicions, but too well founded, and for so long time spread, on the criminal intercourse carried on by the chamberlain with the grand duchess. He concluded by representing him as a perfidious favourite, whose ambition threatened Russia with an odious reign.

The empress, incensed at what she heard, resolved once more to punish Soltikoff; but, directed by the aged chancellor, she took at this time surer measures than before. The secret was kept, and the disgrace of the chamberlain was covered by the pretext of an honourable embassy. Elizabeth commissioned him to repair to Stockholm with the title of envoy extraordinary, to notify to the king of Sweden the birth

birth of Paul Petrovitch, of whom the grand duchess had just been delivered \*. The presumptuous Soltikoff at first considered this employ as a new mark of the empress's favour. He accepted it with gratitude, repaired hastily to Sweden, and left it with equal speed. But scarcely had he quitted Stockholm to return to St. Petersburg, when he was stopped on the road by a courier, who put into his hands the order for him to go and reside at Hamburgh, in quality of minister plenipotentiary from the court of Russia.

Soltikoff now opened his eyes. He saw that he had been cruelly deceived. He wrote to the grand duchess, and engaged her to solicit his recall. That princess, not less sensible than he to this separation, wished at first to employ her influence and her eloquence with the empress, to induce her to command his return: but the chancellor, who had foreseen all that happened, went to her with all speed, to convince her of the danger of this proposal. He told her plainly that the steps she hazarded in favour of Soltikoff, would corroborate the suspicions that were already excited against her, and would effectually tend to her ruin. She was entirely convinced

\* The 1st of October 1754.



by his arguments. Ambition imposed silence on love.

Catharine, however, preserved for some time the passion she had conceived for the chamberlain. She wrote to him, and frequently received letters from him. Misfortune seemed even to augment her tenderness, when all at once, the presence of a stranger whom fortune had brought to the court of Russia, caused her to forget the lover whom she no longer saw.

The young count Stanislaus Poniatofsky, whom Catharine first raised to the throne of Poland, and afterwards hurled him indignantly from it, was the happy successor of Soltikoff. Born a simple nobleman, and destitute of fortune, but endowed with a handsome figure and full of ambition \*, Poniatofsky amused for some time in Germany and France his anxiety and his vague

\* The father of Poniatofsky was an adventurer; who, from the condition of domestic in the family of Michielky in Lithuania, went into the service of Charles XII. and obtained the confidence of that prince. He afterwards attached himself to king Stanislaus Lechinsky, whom he betrayed by conveying from him the abdication which Augustus II. had formerly given him in presence of Charles XII. Provided with this important record, Poniatofsky repaired to Warsaw, where Augustus rewarded his perfidy by giving him in marriage the princess Chartorinsky, a descendant of the house of Yagellon. Stanislaus Poniatofsky was the fruit of this marriage.

expectations. He met with tolerable success at Paris, where the friendship of the Swedish ambassador procured him distinguished connections; but his mother, who dreaded the influence which the too bewitching pleasures of that city might have upon him, wrote to him her commands to leave it. Poniatofsky immediately quitted France and repaired to England, where he found sir Charles Hanbury Williams, whom he had formerly known at the court of Warsaw; and who, being appointed by the cabinet of London to the embassy of Petersburg, engaged him to accompany him thither. Without bearing any title that attached him to the embassy, the young Pole employed himself in the cabinet of the ambassador, and served him in the office of secretary. He even determined at first to confine himself to diplomatic affairs; but the taste for dissipation to which he had long been accustomed, his youth, the seducing opportunities which daily presented themselves, soon brought him back to the pursuit of pleasure. He was by nature of a gay, witty, and spirited disposition, and therefore adapted to succeed at a court where amusement seemed to be the most important concern. Accordingly it was not long before he perceived the impression he had made upon the heart of Catharine.

Poniatofsky,

Poniatofsky, bold and even audacious, was yet awed by the high rank of the grand duchess; and the observant eyes of the numerous courtiers obliged him to repress his ardour. For some time the two lovers conversed only by their looks; but to these mute conversations at length others succeeded in which they reciprocally declared their attachment, and consulted on the means of indulging their inclinations without constraint.

Led by the several motives of interest and vanity, some persons of the court, who watched the motions of the grand duchess only to thwart and censure her views, lost no time in informing the empress Elizabeth of the new intrigue of her adoptive niece.

Elizabeth had no esteem for her nephew; she cared but little for the honour of the grand duchess; she was in general not more severe towards the conduct of others, than careful of her own; in short, she was always afraid to punish; but the extreme facility with which she followed the counsels of the persons about her, made her often act with a rigour entirely abhorrent to her general character. She gave orders to Poniatofsky to quit Russia without delay. Poniatofsky obeyed.



By continuing to cabal against the grand duke, and by removing Soltikoff from the court, the chancellor Bestucheff had neglected nothing for strengthening his party with that of the grand duchess. His devotion to this princess appeared to increase from day to day. He flattered her inclinations; he even ministered to them; he made her at length forget that he had been the chief cause of the ruin of her first lover. She thought she might make use of him in recovering the second. The old minister promised his return, and hastened his endeavours to fulfil it. Poniatofsky he thought far less to be dreaded than Soltikoff. He knew that the heart of Catharine could never remain in a state of inaction: he therefore preferred seeing a foreigner rather than a Russian, the object of her choice.

The grand chancellor was intimately connected with the count de Bruhl, prime minister of the king of Poland. He acquainted him by letter with the passion the grand duchess entertained for Poniatofsky, and the advantage to be derived of sending the young Pole to Russia, invested with a character that would serve as a plausible pretext for his return. The count de Bruhl immediately perceived the importance of the project;

project ; some embarrassment, however, attended its execution : two positive laws in direct opposition to his views on the favourite must be infringed in their behalf.

Every Pole, in possession of a starosty, was prohibited by the former from quitting the republic.

The other enjoined, that a Pole could never be charged at a foreign court with the management of the affairs of Saxony, nor a Saxon with those of Poland.

But Bruhl had often the art of making the laws subservient to his will. The necessity of gaining the ascendant at the court of Russia, and the desire of further conciliating the favour of the russian minister, whom the Saxon regarded as one of his chief supports, obviated every objection. Poniatofsky was publicly decorated with the order of the White Eagle ; and soon after a secret council was held, in which he was named minister plenipotentiary of the republic and king of Poland to the empress Elizabeth. The customary convocation of the *senatus concilium* was even neglected on this occasion.

The indignation of all patriot Poles was excited at this transaction. But they were not aware that the new plenipotentiary was the creature

ture of Chartorinski, and devoted to the politics of England and Prussia.

Durand, a man of perspicacity and courage, charged with the concerns of France in the absence of the count de Broglio, repaired to count Bruhl, to remonstrate with him on the choice he had made, at a moment when it was of so much importance to Poland to keep on good terms with the courts of Vienna and Versailles. The count by a falsehood attempted to impose on the agent of France; he protested that he had exerted no influence in the nomination of Poniatofsky; and in the meanwhile hastened his departure with the greater zeal.

Bruhl, become now the patron of Poniatofsky, omitted nothing on his part to ensure a success that might justify his choice. He well knew the uneasiness that pervaded the russian court, while it affected an exterior of oriental magnificence. He was not ignorant that Elizabeth was lavishing on her minions, and the inventors of sumptuous and fantastical festivities, the sums that should be applied to the wants of the empire; in short, he knew that the grand duke and grand duchess were languishing in a penury unworthy of their rank. He therefore remitted to Poniatofsky 6000 ducats, that, on pressing emergencies,



gencies, he might advance them to the prince and his consort, and thereby conciliate their entire concurrence. Poniatofsky dexterously profited by the counsels and benefactions of Bruhl. He was already sure of the grand duchess's heart; he succeeded soon after with the spouse. He talked english and german with him; he drank, smoaked, spoke ill of France, abused the French, and extolled the king of Prussia with unlimited praise. In addition to so many recommendations, he affected an immoderate pursuit of pleasure. But the Poles, and even the Russians, soon penetrated his ambitious designs, and pretended that he was sacrificing the interests of his master and the Chartorinskies to his own private views. Time has since shewn that they were not deceived.

What indeed might not a man of penetration and address have done in those days at the court of Petersburg? What were the principal personages at that luxurious, intriguing, and profligate court?

The empress Elizabeth had insensibly proceeded from moderate pleasures to the extravagance of sensuality; and her taste for devotion augmented with her voluptuousness. She continued whole hours on her knees before the picture

ture of some saint \*, to which she spoke, which she even consulted, and passed alternately from acts of bigotry to the intemperance of lust, and from scenes of lasciviousness to the opiates of prayer. She would frequently drink to excess; and at such times, too sensual, too impatient for the delays of unlacing, her women used to effect the same purpose by means of the scissars. In what manner such nights were passed, it becomes not the historian to undraw her curtains to reveal.

\* The worship of the pictures of saints is in universal practice in the orthodox greek church. The decalogue, it seems, forbids only *graven* images.—Notwithstanding the unbounded toleration which prevails in Russia, there is still what is called a predominant religion, and to which, as John James observes, the prince and the executioner always belong. The system of faith adopted by the tzar and the native Russians is that denominated by divines the *greek* religion, which in some particulars differs from the latin. Without tiring the reader with a circumstantial exposition of these idle distinctions, to say nothing of their several notions about the procession of the holy ghost, and of the quality of the bread in the sacrament, it will be sufficient to observe that the Greeks deny the supremacy of the roman pontiff in church matters, and condemn the worship of carved images. Accordingly they have no images in their churches, but multitudes of pictures, representing thousands of saints, to which they pay almost the same divine honours as to the deity himself.

The

The grand duchess, blinded by her passion, and consequently unmindful of the lessons of prudence which her mother had left her, but which she afterwards took for the guides of her conduct, betrayed a faint imitation of the irregularities of her aunt. She followed no counsels but those of Bestucheff, the english ambassador Williams, and the gallant Poniatofsky. On which occasion, a foreigner then at Petersburg observed, in allusion to these three personages, that she could not fail of being badly conducted, since she took for her guides men so consummate in knavery, madness, and folly. Poniatofsky was never from her; she devoted to him the whole of her time; and she made so little secret of this intimacy, that public report was very loud to her prejudice. The grand duchess was after some months delivered of the princess Anne \*, who lived only fifteen months.

The grand duke was the only man at court that knew nothing of what was passing. Nor ought this to excite our surprise. Peter, though, as we have seen, apparently marked out for particular exploits, by having at once two distinct offers of a crown, yet the men among whom he was thrown did not co-operate with the finger of

\* In the month of February 1758.

fortune.



fortune. His education had been entirely neglected in Holstein; his naturally good understanding was not enriched with science; his vehement temper was undirected to useful exertion, unsoftened by culture to the tender affections, and by love to the fine arts. In Russia his situation afforded him but little opportunity, awed as he was by the chancellor Bestucheff Riumin, for improving his qualities or extending his knowledge. He was young, and had no honest friend. The image of his illustrious grandfather might present itself to his imagination; but he found no guide to assist him in the emulation of his great example. Kept at a distance from all business of public concern, he confined himself almost solely to the company of his Holsteiners, and to the exercises of his german soldiers. His enemies had even robbed him of the affection of his aunt, and strove to sow discord between him and his spouse. Distrust and apprehension must frequently have got possession of his soul; and in those moments he had recourse to artificial exhilarations that were unworthy of him.

What wonder then that he was blinded to what so nearly concerned him? Besides, being always a great admirer of the king of Prussia, he now devoted himself entirely to copy, with a servile

fervile affectation, the air, the manners, the tone of that monarch. He dressed his little army at Oranienbaum in the prussian uniform, and wore it himself; he fatigued his soldiers in useless manœuvres and painful exercises: from these he sat down to the excesses of the table, and in the delirium of intemperance would declare, that he would one day be the conqueror of the north, and the rival of the prussian hero. But how great was the difference between the imitator and the model!

The grand chancellor, incessantly occupied in his project of vilifying and calumniating the prince, and of favouring the inclination of Catharine, in the hope that when she should have ascended the throne she would keep him in his place, forgot the interest of the empire in attending to his own. The other ministers, who for the most part were creatures devoted to his views, followed the steps of their master.

The Razumoffskys, the Schuvaloffs, the Tshoglokovs, the Narishkins, the Vorontzoffs, and the whole herd of courtiers, while they saw the depravity of their patrons, meanly suppressed their contempt, or stifled it with flattery.

The people, who could easily see the disorders of the court, seemed afraid to lift their eyes on Elizabeth. They revered in her the blood of Peter

Peter the great, without taking umbrage at her vices. Such force has still the impulsion given by the legislator of Russia! So far is the Russian addicted to obedience, and hardened to the yoke!

The empress Elizabeth had ordered general Apraxin to march, with 40,000 Russians, to assist Maria Theresa in re-conquering Silesia from the king of Prussia. The grand duke, lamenting to see these succours dispatched against a monarch whom he admired to idolatry, applied to Bestucheff to induce him to recall the troops. The count entertained no violent affection for Frederic; on the contrary, he was a warm partisan of the court of Vienna. Above all, he had no desire to do any thing that would please the grand duke. But Elizabeth was just fallen sick, the grand duke might presently be called to the throne; and Bestucheff, wishing at any price to preserve his authority, sacrificed his hatred, his affections, and the honour of the empire, to his unbridled ambition. He sent orders to general Apraxin to abandon his conquests, and to hasten his return: but for this once he was the dupe of his own cunning.

This retreat, so unaccountable to Elizabeth, gave her ground to suspect that she had been betrayed by her ministers or her generals.



Marshal Apraxin was removed from the command, and put under arrest. He justified his conduct by producing the orders from count Bestucheff. Bestucheff was removed from his office, and also put under arrest. Count Vorontzoff succeeded Bestucheff in his employment, and the generals Brown \* and Fermer took the command of the army in the place of Apraxin.

The

\* General Brown was a native of Ireland, and was born in the beginning of the present century. Being a roman catholic, he was compelled to seek his fortune in foreign countries by the exertion of those talents which he would willingly have dedicated to the service of his own. He first entered the austrian, and afterwards the russian service. While acting under count Munich against the Turks, in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, he distinguished himself at the siege of Otchakof; being sent with a corps of troops into Hungary, he was taken prisoner by the Turks, sold as a slave, and transferred to four different masters. At one time he was bound back to back with another prisoner for eight-and-forty hours, and exposed, almost naked, at the various places where slaves are brought for sale. He had then borne the rank of colonel in the russian service, but gave out that he was only a captain, in order to lessen the price of his ransom. Having been accidentally met by a gentleman to whom he was personally known, he sent an account of his situation to the french ambassador, who found means to purchase him for 300 ducats. But his turkish master discovering that he was of higher rank than he had pretended, re-claimed his prisoner, and threatened to

The affair was thus. Though Bestucheff had got a great number of partisans, and a still greater number of creatures, he had also many enemies; and these enemies had a glimpse of a means for effecting his ruin, which they eagerly seized. They perceived that it would be no difficult matter for them to cause hatred and quarrels to succeed to the coldness which for a long time had been visible between Peter and his spouse, and that they might then bring Bestucheff to punishment, as the primary cause, not only of these disagreements, but even for the estrangement which the empress evinced to her nephew.

This plan once concerted, the first step was to call the prince's attention to the frequent conversations of Poniatofsky with the grand duchess. Their gestures were watched; every little word that escaped them, which might serve as a pretext for some allusion, was carefully laid hold of. One evening in particular, when the grand duchess was at table with a numerous

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use force in order to recover him. The french ambassador, however, applied to the grand vizir, who decided in his favour. Count Brown recovered his liberty, and returned to Russia, where he was gradually promoted, and died governor of Riga in 1789, at the age of 88.—See *Coxe's Travels*, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 417, 418.

company,

company, and seated facing Poniatofsky, the discourse fell upon the dexterity with which some women managed a horse, and the dangers to which they exposed themselves in that exercise. Catharine, who had her eyes fixed on her lover, answered in her lively manner: "There are few women so bold as I am. I am of an unbounded courage." These words were immediately reported to the grand duke, accompanied with suggestions that might occasion some sinister application to arise in his mind.

The jealousy of Peter being thus alarmed, they lost no time to foster these surmises of the husband into proofs of the infidelity of the wife, in her love for the Polander, and the criminal correspondence they mutually entertained. The prince was overwhelmed with grief and consternation. He bewailed his misfortune, and condemned his imprudence. He no longer observed the consideration and respect he had hitherto shewn the grand duchess, and forbade her to be seen with Poniatofsky. He then hastened to the empress, and besought her to avenge the affront he had received; telling her, at the same time, that the chancellor had not only favoured the misconduct of the grand duchess, but had repeatedly betrayed the confidence of his imperial aunt. He concluded this

K 2 address,



address, by shewing her the order sent by that minister to marshal Apraxin, to make him retreat from Silesia.

Elizabeth, moved at the sorrows of her nephew, and incensed at the treachery of Bestucheff, gave orders to arrest him on the spot. The chancellor was at once deprived of his place, tried, pronounced guilty of high treason, and sentenced to death. But the empress contented herself with banishing him to an estate 120 versts beyond Mosco. Thus passed all at once, from the pinnacle of power into bondage, that man who could make Russia tremble at his word, and controuled the fortunes of a great part of Europe! Such were the explanations universally believed at the time; and the consequence was, as said above, that count Vorontzoff succeeded Bestucheff in the office of grand chancellor.

Catharine, who thought she had every thing to apprehend from the resentment of her husband, now saw herself abandoned on all sides. The courtiers who had been the most assiduous in their flatteries, were now the first to forsake her. Great minds rebound from error with a force proportionate to that which impelled them to it: the grand duchess was sensible to the extent of her imprudence; but her courage never forsook her. Resolved to employ that eloquence  
which

which had formerly succeeded so well with the empress, she demanded an audience ; which Elizabeth refused. She then thought it advisable to apply to the ambassador of France \*, because, as well from his situation as his personal talents, that minister had considerable influence at court. She intreated him to use his interest on her behalf, and to represent to the empress how extremely she was distressed at the loss of her favour ; and that if it were possible she could displease her, the sincerity of her contrition, with such a heart as Elizabeth's, could not plead in vain for pardon.

The ambassador was not deficient in marks of respect for the princess ; he gave her such consolations and advice as his prudence suggested ; but he thought it not consistent with propriety to attempt to effect a reconciliation which appeared to him impossible.

Catharine therefore remained for some time in this distressing situation. She had at once to support the aversion of the grand duke, the indignation of the empress, the insulting disdain of a court which, a few days before, was lavish of its assiduities and smiles ; and, what afflicted her much more, the dread of losing for ever her favourite Poniatofsky.

\* M. de l'Hôpital.

The young Pole was not less a prey to inquietude than herself. He had just received from Warsaw letters of recal; and yet he could not resolve upon quitting Russia. Feigning an indisposition, he confined himself all day to his hotel, and in the obscurity of the winter evenings repaired to Catharine's apartments. But the ever-waking eyes of suspicion and malice were continually upon them. Their places of assignation were discovered; and the empress, whose ears were open to every tale, was soon made acquainted with these transactions.

The return of summer threw fresh difficulties in the way of these interviews. The grand duchess was obliged to accompany her husband to Oranienbaum; and Poniatofsky was reduced to the necessity of having recourse to all manner of disguises for gaining admission to this palace. One day, having put on a convenient habit, and fauntering in one of the walks of the grounds where Catharine had appointed to meet him, he was recognized by one of the domestics, who presently ran to acquaint the grand duke. The prince, willing to humiliate Poniatofsky, ordered one of the most athletic of his russian officers to be fetched; and after having given him the characteristic description of the Pole, commanded him



him to go up to him unawares in the grounds; and bring him either voluntarily or by force.

The officer was not long in coming up with the man who answered the description he had received; when he roughly interrogated him, Who he was? and what he would have? Poniatofsky, thus taken by surprise, scarcely knowing what answer to make, stammered out the first thing that occurred: that he was a german taylor, and that he was come to Oranienbaum to take measure of a holstein officer for a suit of clothes. "I have orders to bring you to the grand duke," replied the Russian.—"I must decline the honour, though my fortune may depend upon it: I have not a moment of time," returned the Pole.—"Oh, as to the matter of time, whether you have time or not, you must follow me," answered the officer. Having said this, on seeing some signs of reluctance in the other, he made a slip-knot in his handkerchief, which he threw over his neck, and thus led him captive to the feet of the prince.

The grand duke, seeing Poniatofsky brought like a malefactor before him, assumed an angry air, and in a feigned passion soundly rated the officer for making such a mistake; but afterwards amused himself with the adventure at the expence of the

count, and affected chiefly to relate it in the presence of Catharine.

It was about this time that, whether in compliance with an involuntary passion, for passions are involuntary in such characters as Peter, whether he thought to avenge himself for the infidelities of his wife, the grand duke formed an attachment with one of the three daughters of the senator Vorontzoff, brother of the new chancellor. The eldest of these sisters, madame Boutturlin, was justly reckoned one of the handsomest ladies of Russia. The youngest, who has since played so active and resolute a part, under the name of the princess Dashkoff, was equally handsome, and moreover endowed with extraordinary talents; but as for the third, Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontzoff\*, of whom Peter was so passionately enamoured, she was neither witty in conversation, graceful in behaviour, nor beautiful in person†. Her good-humour, so

\* The french author here adds, "to whom the grand duke gave the title of countess," by mistake. She was a countess by birth.

† Notwithstanding this assertion, she was said to have been very handsome at that time; latterly, it is true, she grew corpulent. As madame Polianski, she was an excellent wife to the admiral of that name, a good mother, and a charitable and worthy woman.

congenial

congenial to his own, seduced him, her caprices amused him, and the habit of living with her soon gained her an imperious ascendant over him. The senator Vorontzoff, an insipid and ambitious courtier, with abject complaisance, connived at the commerce of the prince with his daughter.

In the mean time the health of Elizabeth began visibly to decline; and the necessity of indulging repose, in addition to her natural indolence, rendered her more negligent than ever of the affairs of government. It was with difficulty the new grand chancellor Vorontzoff could prevail on her to set her signature to the official dispatches; she could only summon up the scattered remains of her spirits for her customary dissipations. Festivities, balls, masquerades, and brilliant shows still yielded a faint amusement; and dreading to lie down upon a restless pillow, she went to the opera or the play at eleven, passed the rest of the night at table, and went to bed at five in the morning. Business of the gravest import appeared now as trifles to her. Acquainted with the passion of her nephew for the young countess Vorontzoff, to whom she scornfully gave the nick-name of la Pompadour, she listened with avidity to the idle tales that were brought her of the particulars of their  
amorous



amorous revels; seeming to seek in such anecdotes some palliation for her own infirmities. But she nevertheless continued to meet the looks of the prince with a face of indifference, and often of coldness.

Catharine, who waited with impatience for a favourable opportunity of reconciliation with the empress, now that a sufficient interval of silence had elapsed, thought it her duty to renew her efforts. She threw herself at her feet, and implored her forgiveness; but the irritated monarch would listen to no accommodation, except on the most mortifying conditions. It was afterwards proposed to her, by message, to confess her guilt, and to submit to the clemency of her husband and the empress.

From this moment Catharine summoned up all her pride. She purposely avoided appearing at court, kept close to her apartments, and asked leave of the empress to retire into Germany; a permission which she was very sure of being refused; because, knowing the extreme fondness of Elizabeth for the young Paul Petrovitch, she had no reason to apprehend that that princess would consent to see the departure of the mother of a child which would thereby be exposed to the hazard of being hereafter declared illegitimate. The stratagem succeeded: an accom-

accommodation shortly after ensued. At the very moment when she was thought on the brink of irremediable disgrace, to the great astonishment of the court, she made her appearance at the theatre, by the side of the empress, who carefully drew upon her the notice of the spectators by the particularity of her attentions.

It is true that, in the private conversation which the grand duchess had with the empress, she promised no longer to permit the visits of Poniatofsky; and thenceforward she actually held a greater reserve in her conduct. Poniatofsky almost immediately demanded his audience of leave. But, as his attachment to Catharine was founded more on ambition than love, and, determined to neglect nothing that might add fresh fuel to a passion that afterwards elevated him to the throne of Poland, he found new pretences for still prolonging his stay in Petersburg.

In the mean time the cabal formed by Bestucheff had not been annihilated by the disgrace of that minister; and the enemies of the grand duke continued on all occasions to blacken him in the eyes of his aunt. They gladly took advantage of the sickness and infirmity of that princess, to make her believe that Peter openly rejoiced in her approaching dissolution, and manifested his impatience to enter into his heritage.

heritage. The mind of the empress, already too incensed against her nephew, was cruelly wounded by these reports. In the first emotions of resentment, she suffered some menaces to escape her of depriving him of the succession. At first it was thought by some that she intended to restore the inheritance to prince Ivan, dethroned by her twenty years before, and whom she still kept languishing in a dungeon. Others supposed, with greater reason, that she had formed the design of causing the infant Paul Petrovitch to supplant his father. Not many days after\*, while the grand duke was at Oranienbaum, she unexpectedly gave orders to have a play got ready; and, contrary to usual custom, she had neither the foreign ministers nor the persons of her court invited. The grand duchess, her son, and the most intimate favourites were her only attendants. No sooner was she seated in the imperial box, than she began to complain of the thinness of the house, and concluded by saying that the soldiers of her guard must be admitted. In an instant the theatre was full. Then, taking in her arms the little Paul Petrovitch, she presented him to the view of those veteran warriors to whom she was indebted for the throne; and,

\* In the month of December 1761.

praising



praising his winning smiles, his striking physiognomy, his endearing qualities of heart and mind, she seemed to ask of them the same attachment for him which they had shewn to her. The soldiers replied by reiterated shouts of applause. If Elizabeth had proceeded to explain herself farther, Peter had been excluded from the throne for ever: but, notwithstanding the enthusiastic vociferations of her guards, the empress stopped short in her encomiums, sat down in her seat, and the piece went on. It is probable that she thought it necessary first to sound their dispositions, in order to execute her project with greater solemnity and precaution; it may be likewise, that she meant only to intimidate the grand duke by shewing him how dependent he was on her will.

The news of this scene was presently spread abroad, and gave rise to many reflections. On this occasion the public recollected an old opinion, undoubtedly false, but which, circulated in whispers, had gained some credit, at the time of the birth of Paul Petrovitch. It was pretended, that the empress Elizabeth had gained over by bribes the nurse of the grand duchess's child, and caused a son she had had by Razumoffsky to be substituted in its place.

Yet,

Yet, whatever were the designs of the empress Elizabeth, the execution of them was prevented by the hand of death. A few days after the transaction in favour of the infant prince, she perceived her health to be sensibly declining from day to day. Tormented with violent pains in her bowels, which no medicines were found to assuage, for procuring some respite to suffering nature, she had more frequent recourse to her customary means of stifling sensibility in the stupefactions brought on by the use of strong waters. In vain did her physicians represent to her that she herself was contributing to frustrate their efforts, and accelerating the period of her days. In vain did her attendants, by sacrificing obedience to affection, secretly remove or destroy the intoxicating beverage: she would constantly have a case of it in her chamber, of which the key was always kept within reach. It was now clearly seen that her end was rapidly approaching. The interested and ambitious, who had severally been contending for honours or wealth, now formed into bands in order to strengthen their forces, and presently divided into two very opposite parties.

The former was made up of the remains of the friends of Bestuckeff, whose cabals all tended in favour of Catharine, and of which

after the exile of the old chancellor, count Ivan Ivanovitch Schuvaloff had been considered as chief. Schuvaloff, whose rapacity made the russian merchants tremble, and whose insolent speculations incensed the grand duke; Schuvaloff, convinced that his power and his prosperity ran great hazard of becoming extinct with the life of Elizabeth, and seeing no other means of escaping the vengeance of the prince than by cutting him off from all hopes of the crown; steadily adhering to the plan that had been, twenty years before, chalked out by Bestucheff, and resting on the well-known intentions of the empress, consented so far that Peter should be elected sovereign of Russia, but was for giving the regency to the grand duchess, under the authority of a council, in which he modestly offered himself to preside.

Though secretly irritated at seeing Ivan Schuvaloff appropriating to himself so great a share in this partition, yet the grand duchess seconded with all her efforts the plan of the favourite. To this she was animated by the twofold motive of ambition and fear. But the more she was desirous of obtaining the sovereign power, the more carefully she concealed that desire. Towards those who, from the nature of their employment or station, approached her but seldom,



seldom, she covered her schemes with an apparent indifference, and she perpetually repeated to her most intimate confidants, that "the title of the mother of the emperor she should always think preferable to that of his spouse." On the other hand, she could not dissemble that, since her infidelities were known to the grand duke, she had every thing to dread from the resentment of that prince. He did not conceal the animosity he bore her, of which she had evident proofs at various times.

The other party into which the court was split, and which defended the rights of Peter to succeed to the throne, was headed by the senator Vorontzoff, brother of the new grand chancellor. This Vorontzoff was more ambitious, and at the same time more sordid, than any of his competitors for power. He was not destitute of sagacity and courage; but the former he only employed in seeking means of intrigue, and his courage in braving contempt. His daughter was publicly the mistress of the grand duke; and the senator, who, as before observed, had himself prepared and formed this connection, now neglected nothing for drawing it closer. The access which he had to the grand duke, furnished him with frequent opportunities of exasperating him more against his wife, and of discoursing on

what

*was over eight months  
you will find page 145*

*See page 176 -*

“ by a senate, will the kings of Poland and of  
“ Sweden ever take precedence of the emperor  
“ of all the Russias? The true, the only glory  
“ of a monarch is to reign worthily. Make it  
“ your endeavour then to merit that glory with-  
“ out disquieting yourself about a vain formality,  
“ and putting yourself under the tutelage of an  
“ ambitious senate, who will soon make you re-  
“ pent the confidence you have reposed in it.  
“ But if unhappily your throne should shake,  
“ will that senate have the force to establish it?  
“ And if you should set out with rendering the  
“ army dissatisfied by disdaining to follow their  
“ ancient usage, will you not, sooner or later,  
“ have reason to dread their vengeance?”

This speech caused the grand duke to waver in his resolution. He was flattered by the brilliant novelty of the counsels of Panin; but the dread of affronting the army deprived him of courage to follow them. In this perplexity of mind, not knowing what determination he ought to adopt, he dispatched one of his chamberlains to consult the grand duchess.

Catharine, whose ambition was roused by Elizabeth's approaching dissolution, and who felt the necessity of conciliating the popular favour by an exterior of piety, which, by those

who best knew her, was supposed not to proceed from her heart; Catharine was punctual in frequenting the churches at the stated times of public devotion; but more particularly at the prayers that were now daily put up for imploring the re-establishment of the health of the empress. Panin had imprudently neglected to inform her of his project. She was still in the dark concerning the advantages to accrue from it to her. Besides, she had been employed several days in framing herself the form of the proclamation acknowledging the emperor, as well as that of the oath to be taken by the troops: and as she plumed herself on writing in a style of peculiar elegance, and imagining that these two pieces would be received with admiration by the people at large, she would not sacrifice a labour, that would be lost if the prince should cause himself to be elected by the senate, as that body would itself, in that case, prescribe the new form of the oath, and dictate the new proclamation. She therefore returned an abrupt answer to the grand duke, "that he ought to conform to established custom."

Almost at the moment the grand duke received this answer, word was brought him, that his aunt, the empress Elizabeth, "commanded him to  
" live



"live long \*;" in other words, that she was dead. The tzarina expired on Christmas-day 1761 †, after a long illness, and in excruciating pains, in the 52d year of her age, and the 22d of her reign. This princess was second daughter to Peter the great; and, from being little better than a prisoner, became in a moment a despotic sovereign, holding in her feeble and negligent hands the reins of this gigantic empire, the most extensive on the globe of the earth; one part whereof alone, the russian Asia, is far greater than all Europe taken together: nay, of which part only, one province, Siberia, greatly exceeds an empire of the first magnitude, namely China, with all its adjacent territories. For Elizabeth possessed neither the abilities nor the inclination for being an active sovereign: and the illustrious family of this mighty monarch was more than once disturbed by intestine revolutions. In

\* The usual form of announcing to another the death of some person, in practice among all classes and conditions of people. Procopy Kirillitch prikazal jeet: Procopius the son of Cyril, or perhaps Procopius Fitz-Cyril, "orders you "to live," is the same as to tell you that he is dead: or as often, Afanasi Vassillievitch, Athanasius the son of Basil, prikazal dolgo jeet, orders you to live long.

† Or the 5th of January 1762, N. S.

dungeons at various distances from the residence, were languishing, in her reign, a dethroned emperor, exiled princes and dukes, vanquished magnates, banished commanders, statesmen, courtiers, and women.

The reign of Elizabeth may be deservedly termed peaceful and tranquil; yet, without reckoning the grand tumult at her accession to the throne, there were not wanting revolutions of an inferior kind. In the year 1743, not long before the arrival of Catharine, a court conspiracy against the empress was detected; which, though it cost none of the accomplices their lives, yet the minister for the marine, Lapoukin, his very beautiful lady, his son, the countess Bestucheff, sister-in-law to the chancellor of the empire, several gentlemen of the chamber, and officers, received the knout, had the fore-half of their tongues cut out, and were sent to Siberia. In the year 1748, count Lestoc, formerly body-surgeon to the empress, and the principal instrument of her elevation to the throne, was disgraced by the chancellor Bestucheff, whom he himself had promoted to that office, and by general Apraxin: he was first imprisoned in the castle, and afterwards exiled to some obscure and solitary place in the government of Archangel.

Ten

Ten years afterwards the chancellor's own turn came ; being in 1758 accused of high treason, and sent off to one of his estates 120 versts beyond Mosco.—Of more consequence to the country was Elizabeth's participation in the formidable league against Frederic of Prussia, at the instigation of Bestucheff, and which the grand duke beheld with extreme discontent. During the ever-memorable war of 1757—1762, that monarch was cruelly harassed by the russian arms, though at times such glorious victories were gained over them by his own ; but what benefit could accrue from all this to the enormous empire ? What was to compensate the thousands of lives and the prodigious sums of money that it cost to Russia ?

The easiness and indolence of Elizabeth's character subjected her to the humours of favourites, who made a bad use of her authority. Her devotion often rendered her impious, and her clemency cruel. At the commencement of her reign she made a vow never to punish a malefactor with death : the judges therefore, who could not decapitate criminals, deprived them of their lives by the barbarous punishment of the knoot ; and never were there more tongues cut out, and more wretches sent to Siberia, than



under the reign of this princess, so unjustly extolled for her clemency\*.

It is supposed that her government cost every year to the empire at least 1000 of her subjects by private imprisonment, which, during the 20 years and upwards that she reigned, makes the number amount to above 20,000. Nothing was more easy than to obtain a secret order for this purpose by the flatterers of all ranks that swarmed about her person. It was sufficient for one of the maids of honour to think herself slighted, for

\* The panegyrists of Elizabeth (says Mr. Coxe) would certainly have entertained some doubts concerning her boasted clemency, if they had recollected that she did not abolish, but retained, the following horrid process for the purpose of extorting confessions from persons charged with treasonable designs. The arms of the suspected person being tied behind by a rope, he was drawn up in that posture to a considerable height in the air; from whence being suddenly lowered to within a small distance of the ground, and the motion being there as suddenly checked, the violence of the concussion dislocated his shoulders, and in that deplorable situation he underwent the knout. To this dreadful engine of barbarity and despotism, Elizabeth, amidst all her imputed lenity, gave unlimited scope; and, during her whole reign, it was ordinarily applied even at the discretion of inferior and ignorant magistrates; nor was it abolished until the accession of the present empress (Catharine II.), who has prohibited the use of torture in all criminal cases. *Coxe's Travels*, 8vo. edit. vol. iii. p. 130.

getting

getting an order to have a person taken out of bed in the night, carried away blindfolded, and gagged, and immured under ground, there to drag out the remainder of life in a solitary and loathsome dungeon, without ever being charged with any crime, or even knowing in what part of the country he was. On the disappearance of any such person from his family, from his relatives, from the circle of his acquaintance, it was highly dangerous to make any inquiries after him. "He has disappeared," was held a sufficient answer to questions of that nature. Many of these were known to be still miserably wearing out existence under the bastions and towers of Schlusselfburg and other fortresses, so lately as the winter of 1780, not to mention the exiles to Siberia. To all this it may be added, that her reign was never marked by a single act that could justify the revolution that placed on her head the crown of Russia. In a word, she was fitter to have vegetated in the sloth of a convent, than to be seated on the throne of one of the largest of the chief empires of the world.

## CHAP. II.

*Accession of Peter III.—His Dethronization and Death. — Revolution of 1762. — Catharine assumes the Reins of Government.*

THE part taken by Elizabeth in the seven years war, though it might in some measure have been dictated by resentment, might at the same time have passed for the result of the soundest policy. No power but that of the king of Prussia was capable of checking her's. He was, not only from his strength and character, but from the situation of his dominions, the only prince in Europe, from whom it could be materially her interest to make conquests.

By the capture of Colberg on one hand, and Schweidnitz on the other, the king of Prussia's dominions were entirely at the mercy of his enemies; his forces were worn away, and even his efforts had gradually declined: a complete victory, though this was an event not at all probable, could not have saved him. The Russians, by wintering in Pomerania, and by the possession of Colberg, which insured them supplies by a safe and expeditious channel, were in a condition



dition to commence their operations much earlier than usual, as well as to sustain them with more spirit and uniformity. No resource of policy could be tried with the least expectation of success. After such a resistance for five years, of which the world never furnished another example, the king of Prussia had nothing left, but such a conduct as might close the scene with glory; since there was so little appearance of his concluding the war with safety.

In the midst of these gloomy appearances, his inveterate and inflexible enemy, the empress of Russia, died; and he was extricated by that event alone from the distresses by which he was actually surrounded, and the greater miseries that seemed to await him.

With regard to her own dominions, Elizabeth, for her personal conveniency, had created a government by favourites, and by her passion for pomp and sensual gratifications, had incurred enormous debts.

No sooner had the empress closed her eyes, than the courtiers pressed in crowds to the grand duke. This prince, laying aside at once his weakness and indecision, accosted them with dignity, and received the oaths of the officers of his guard.

In

In about an hour he got on horseback, and traversed the streets of St. Petersburg, distributing money to the multitude. As he went, the soldiers flocked about him, crying, "If thou take care of us, we will serve thee as faithfully as we served our good empress." The people mixed their shouts of joy with the acclamations of the soldiers; and, though the enemies of the grand duke had long since succeeded in their attempts to bring odium and contempt upon him, yet his accession to the throne was not attended with the least mark of discontent or ill-will.

As for himself, delivered on a sudden from the long and servile constraint in which he had been kept by his aunt, he negligently let his satisfaction appear, but without betraying an indecent joy. He took the name of Peter III.

It was easy for him to efface the memory of his predecessor; yet it was observable that there was little appearance of those cheerful sentiments which usually take possession of the hearts of the subjects on the accession of a young prince to the throne. All tempers seemed out of tune: the emperor neither found nor felt any more affection in the larger circle of the court, than in the smaller one of his family.

The

The Russians were at that time, generally speaking, indisposed towards foreigners; though numbers of them, since the time of Peter the great, had always held places at the court, in the army, in the fleet, and in the civil departments. Elizabeth had flattered this old russian prejudice; and, in order to ingratiate herself with the people, on her coming to the crown, had promised to remove the foreigners: but in the opinion of many of the nobility, and especially of the army, she came very far short of her word. During her reign, in the year 1740, an insurrection broke out on this account: the soldiers in the camp near Viborg, during the swedish war, began on a sudden to maltreat their foreign officers, and were threatening to proceed to very dangerous extremities, when discipline and order were presently restored by the great presence of mind of the intrepid Keith. Even in Petersburg a similar mutiny, shortly after the former, broke out, which, though at first only an attack on a german officer, yet proceeded to so great a height as to fill the whole city with alarm and consternation. It was chiefly on account of this national humour, that generals Lœvendal, Keith, Manstein, and other deserving foreigners, afterwards took leave of the service.

Indeed



Indeed the grand duke Peter could not properly be deemed a foreigner; he had rather a just claim on the national love, as the grandson of Peter the great. But he was after all an Holsteiner; he had not long been resident in Russia; and lived there almost like a foreigner. Neither in manners, nor in language, nor in religious profession, did he seem a complete and genuine Russian. His confidence and familiarity were confined to the Germans from his dukedom; all his affections seemed to centre in Holstein alone, while he shewed only coldness or even repugnance to the concerns of his future empire. Nor was this at all surprising, as the situation in which he was held, by keeping him at a distance from the deliberations of the cabinet, naturally diminished his attention to public affairs; and as he justly disapproved of the violent participation with which his aunt and her ministry engaged in the great german war.—Both parties, if they had not yet proceeded to intemperate measures, had, however, already concerted their plans, or rather had begun to put them in play. The grand duke, according to some, ought to be deprived of the succession; and then they could cast their eyes on no person so proper for it as his consort; who, though a foreigner likewise, had yet in her whole behaviour assimilated herself more with

the nation, and might reign as the guardian of her son. On the other hand, the grand duke wanted, as was said by others, or perhaps by the same, entirely to new-model the whole system of Russia, to put every thing on a german footing, to employ the force of the empire only in the aggrandisement of Holstein; and, in order to enable himself to act with perfect freedom, and to annihilate the opposite party at a stroke, to detach himself from his family, and to secure to a paternal relation the expectative of the crown.

Such was the temper of the times when Peter acceded to the imperial dignity. In the manifesto by which he proclaimed this event to the empire, he mentioned neither his consort nor even his son; and interpreters were not wanting, who clearly perceived in this omission the overthrow of the hereditary succession. A circumstance that operated with greater impression was, that he made no preparations for his coronation at Mosco; a solemnity of the utmost importance, as a practice of high antiquity, and as conferring an awful sanction on the authority of the sovereign in the minds of the people. Instead of this he pushed his blind passion for imitating the king of Prussia so far, that he made  
preparations

preparations in this immature state of his government to quit Russia, and go into Germany, for the sake of an interview with that great monarch, whose genius, principles, and fortune he so extravagantly admired.

The impartial historian cannot withhold the tribute of praise from his conduct at the beginning of his reign. To say that he revenged himself on no one, though he very well knew who had taken pains to injure him with the late empress, would be but slight commendation, in comparison of the acts of beneficence and justice with which he signalized his first accession to the supreme command, to the astonishment of those who knew him only by his vices. The transformation appeared as complete as it was sudden. Gentleness and humanity took the place of violence, and reflection succeeded to passion. The grand duke had been inconsistent, impetuous, and wild: Peter III. now shewed himself equitable, patient, and enlightened. He exercised kindness towards all who had been attached to the late empress his aunt. He continued in their posts almost all the great officers of state. He pardoned his enemies. He raised to the rank of field-marshal Peter Schuvaloff, who had been long confined to his bed, and who died shortly after.



after. He left the place of grand-veneur to Alexey Gregorievitch Razumoffsky \*, the favourite of Elizabeth. He even conferred benefits on Ivan Schuvaloff, though he had frequently made an unworthy use of his influence.

Prince Shafuskoï, advocate of the senate, of whom Peter III. had great reason to complain, was the only person he removed from his employment, but he exacted of him nothing more than a simple resignation, leaving him both his liberty and his possessions. At the same time a certain Gleboff, who from being but a common attorney, was appointed to transact the affairs of Holstein, and in that administration had obtained the good-will of the prince, was put into the place of Shafuskoï. Gleboff afterwards but ill requited so signal a mark of the confidence of his master.

The grand duchess, who could not think without dread of the moment when her husband should be invested with the sovereign power, and expected nothing short of a very severe animadversion upon herself, received from him

\* Alexey Razumoffsky had often injured the grand duke with the empress Elizabeth. The grand duke one day sent him an ax upon a red satin cushion, as a hint of the catastrophe that awaited him; but when this prince was seated on the throne, he disdained every idea of revenge.

the most flattering salutations, and marks of the greatest confidence. He seemed to forget the wrongs he had suffered, in the elegancies of her mind, and the force of her genius. He passed a great part of the day in her apartments; discoursed with her on the most friendly footing, and consulted her on all delicate and important affairs. The courtiers, surprised at this conduct, felicitated Catharine on the happiness of her lot. Catharine was almost the only person who was not deceived. She easily saw that her husband was not capable of governing by himself, and she was too well acquainted with his character, to mistake that for benevolence which was only a weakness.

With regard to the government of his country, nothing could be more popular and auspicious than his first measures. The earliest use the new czar made of his absolute power, was to set the russian nobility and gentry free, and to put them on the same footing with those of their rank in the other more moderate governments of Europe. He recalled that multitude of state prisoners with whom the suspicious temper of Elizabeth, and the jealousies of her servants, had peopled the deserts of Siberia \*. Among these

\* It is said that Peter III. recalled to the number of 17,000 exiles.

what it would be advisable to do on ascending the throne. He succeeded so well in gaining his confidence, that the prince determined on nothing till he had consulted the count, or previously informed him of his intention through his daughter. In short, according to the instigations of Vorontzoff, and some other courtiers at the devotion of that senator, the grand duke resolved to assemble the troops at the instant the empress should close her eyes, to cause himself to be proclaimed emperor, to repudiate the grand duchess, to declare the young Paul Petrovitch illegitimate, and publicly to marry his mistress Elizaveta Romanovna Vorontzoff.

All things seemed to concur to the success of this enterprize. The grand duke, it is true, was not agreeable to the courtiers, but he was still respected by the people, who looked up to him as the offspring of Peter the great. Vorontzoff had, moreover, far greater address than Schuvaloff, and he laid his account that England would furnish him with considerable sums.

In the midst of this train of things, the perpetual intrigues and agitations with which the two parties filled the court of the dying monarch, and whose animosities were augmenting from day to day, there started up all at once a man who undertook to calm their tempers, com-



promise their differences, and even reconcile their opinions. This man was Nikita Ivanovitch count Panin, who afterwards for many years filled the place of prime minister to Catharine, and was then just returned from Stockholm, where he had long resided in a diplomatic capacity.

Count Panin was of an obscure family, and set out in life as a foldier in one of the regiments of horse guards\*. Under the patronage of prince Kourakin

\* Count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin, minister of the department for foreign affairs, was born the 15th of September 1718. His family was originally from the republic of Lucca, whence they came to Russia some time in the 15th century. His father served under Peter the great, and was so fortunate as to obtain the particular favour of his sovereign. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and died in 1736 of the consequences of the wounds he had received in several battles, leaving behind him two sons. The elder was entrusted with the most important concerns of the empire, and educated the heir of the crown; the second gave many proofs of courage and military skill in the prussian war, governed as stadtholder the whole of the country conquered from Prussia, afterwards led his army against the Turks, stormed Bender, effectuated the independency of the Krim Tartars; lastly, after he had for some years retired from the service at his own request, quelled a great insurrection; and, by this important service rendered to his country, obtained the appellation of defender of the nobles, against whom the attacks of the rebels were chiefly directed. Our Nikita Ivanovitch, by his good conduct,

Kourakin he became gentleman of the bed-chamber. The empress soon noticed him from the people of the palace, and thought he might be employed in confidential affairs. Accordingly she sent him in 1749 to Sweden, with the title of minister plenipotentiary at the court of Stockholm. On his return he had been appointed governor to prince Paul Petrovitch. Panin had received but little help from education; in natural talents he did not rise above mediocrity; but, as is often observable in minds of that stamp, he found nothing arduous or difficult, but thought always that cunning was equal to wisdom. Obstinate and inflexible in his opinions, which being neither founded on judgment nor derived from experience, were not always

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duct, and the interest of his relation prince Kourakin, who had married his sister, procured him access to the court on all occasions. The empress Elizabeth Petrovna, at her accession, made him a gentleman of the bed-chamber; and the particular favour she shewed him, presently made him an object of jealousy and envy, two vices that are said to be no strangers in courts. His enemies engaged in several intrigues in hopes of removing him from the palace; but, as in all his behaviour they could find no handle for calumny, they were reduced to the necessity of employing his merits to further their aim. They represented to the empress his dexterity in political matters, and he was sent in 1747 as minister plenipotentiary to the danish court.

the most just, yet he seemed to imagine that what he knew and what he thought was always the best. However, in the latter years of his life, after he had done with all public affairs, he has often confessed to his friends, that during the whole course of his ministry he made it the basis of his conduct in all negotiations, either foreign or domestic, to gain time, and trust chiefly to the chapter of accidents. And he had seldom been mistaken in the event. Indeed the face of human affairs is in such perpetual fluctuation, and is subject to such an endless variety of changes, that the chances attending on what a day may bring forth, are frequently, both in private and public life, seen to favour the maxim of this sagacious politician. His residence in Sweden had taught him to believe that an aristocratic constitution, with the forms of a senate, was the masterpiece of governments. To these notions he pertinaciously adhered. The rest of his character was made up of indolence, inaccuracy, and a passion for gossiping.

In accepting the post of preceptor to the young prince, he had now to determine his choice between the grand duke and his consort. Panin did not allow himself a moment's hesitation. He devoted himself entirely to Catharine. Being admitted into her confidence, and informed of  
her



her design to snatch the sceptre from the hand of her husband, he easily perceived the extent of the danger to which she was exposed. He was sensible that she might fail in the attempt, and be covered with ruin; that she might suddenly be hurled from the throne and the bed of the emperor, and that her son would partake in her fall. It was this that the governor dreaded the most.

The first thought that occurred to him for avoiding this misfortune, was to engage the two opposite parties to abate of their extravagant pretensions; and he could no otherwise hope to gain their consent to this mutual surrender, than by employing those fears they reciprocally entertained of each other. He accordingly resolved to bring about a coalition, thereby to pave the way for Peter to be seated on the throne, and in order that he might be proclaimed emperor, not by the troops, but by the senate, who at the same time would limit his power, and secure the authority to his wife and his son.

This project once conceived, Panin set himself seriously about the means of its execution. Ambition all at once gave a momentary turn to his character. His indolence gave place to activity, discretion succeeded to his temerity, and reserve to his usual babble. He distrusted even Ca-

tharine herself, and never imparted to her a share in his secret. He went farther: he affected no longer to frequent, and feigned to have abandoned his party. But, no sooner did he think himself safe from all suspicion of his intentions, than he resorted in secret to the house of Ivan Schuvaloff.

Ivan Schuvaloff had given himself up to the most pungent anxieties. He shuddered, he even wept at the thoughts of being become the leader of a party, and at seeing the dangerous honour ascribed to him of a project conceived by Peter Schuvaloff, his ambitious cousin\*; who, confined at this time to his bed by a sickness that laid him soon after in the grave, could not support the insolence he had for some time inspired into the haughty and pusillanimous favourite of Elizabeth.

The circumstance was favourable to Panin. He failed not to turn it to his advantage. He

\* Count Peter Schuvaloff was of a bold and romantic turn, and the opposite in all things of his cousin Ivan, whose only propensity was to sordid intrigue. Peter Schuvaloff made himself famous in Russia for his ambition, and in Europe for the invention of the cannons that bear his name. He fancied himself alone able to prevent the grand duke from reigning, and only made use of his cousin Ivan as an ordinary instrument.

dexterously

dexterously employed his ingenuity in augmenting the horrors of Ivan Schuvaloff, by exaggerating the dangers to which he was exposed.—

“ How can you venture,” said he, “ to contend  
“ with unequal forces, against the grand duke,  
“ bringing upon yourself an irreparable ruin and  
“ a certain death, by endeavouring to set aside  
“ from the throne a prince who is called to it  
“ by the choice of the sovereign, and who, by  
“ his birth, is the only legitimate heir? But  
“ even supposing you could succeed in preventing  
“ the sceptre from passing into his hand,  
“ have you any reason to hope to preserve your  
“ influence for any considerable time, during a  
“ minority, the weakness whereof will embolden  
“ your rivals, and raise up a host of malcontents,  
“ incessantly plotting your disgrace? If you are  
“ victorious over one faction, can you equally  
“ flatter yourself with escaping the other? If the  
“ first blow that is struck at you falls short of its  
“ aim, by the second, more successful, you may  
“ be easily overthrown. If you would follow  
“ the advice of a friend, the dictates of prudence,  
“ you will sedulously frequent the levées of the  
“ grand duke and conciliate his favour. Time  
“ still is yours. He himself is well informed of  
“ the obstacles to be thrown in his way, and he  
“ will think himself happy enough, if, at the



“ expence of some sacrifices, he deprives them  
“ of the power to hurt him. Let us leave him  
“ then the quiet possession of the throne ; but  
“ let us oblige him to purchase it on conditions  
“ that will thenceforward dispel our fears, and  
“ for ever disable the prince from abusing his  
“ power. It would be unnecessary at present  
“ for me to specify those conditions : but if you  
“ comply with my advice, I have not the least  
“ doubt but the grand duke will easily be brought  
“ to agreement, and I promise to furnish you  
“ with a plan adapted to reconcile the several  
“ parties that divide the court.”

Count Ivan Schuvaloff answered not a single word ; but, convinced of the wisdom of Panin's advice, he immediately repaired to his cousin Peter, and imparted to him in whispers the counsels he had just received. Disease had abated the courage of Peter Schuvaloff, and relaxed the springs of his ambition. But, though he easily yielded to the persuasion of the reality of all the formidable apprehensions that terrified Ivan, yet, in relinquishing his project, he was determined to play the principal part.

He sent an humble message to the grand duke, acquainting him, that, having to communicate to him secrets of the utmost importance, and being prevented from quitting his bed by a painful disease,

disease, he was his submissive petitioner for the honour of a visit. The prince went directly to his chamber. Being seated by his couch, Peter Schuvaloff addressed him with the energy and awful solemnity of a man, who, trembling on the brink of the grave, knows of no artifices for concealing the truth, and has nothing any longer to desire or to fear.—“ My prince,” said he, “ you are not ignorant of the prepossessions that are abroad against you. The people imagine that you incline more to the Germans than to them; the clergy dread you; the principal nobility hate you. The clouds that are gathering round, seem to threaten you with a tempestuous reign. All circumstances concur to demonstrate that for preventing the alterations you are thought to intend, your enemies will proceed to extremities. I pretend not, my prince, to know what are the designs you really meditate; I cannot foresee whether you will triumph over those who are seeking your ruin, or whether they will get the better of you. But if you carry into effect what it is supposed you are determined to do; if you repudiate the grand duchess, to elevate to her place a woman so vile and contemptible as the countess Vorontzoff, be assured that you will draw upon yourself a series of calamities, to which,

“which, sooner or later, you will fall a victim,  
“and that you and your memory will be dis-  
“honoured for ever.”

As he listened to this discourse, the grand duke was observed at several times to change colour; and on perceiving that Peter Schuvaloff had left off speaking, he assured him, that the charge of any design to dissolve his marriage was a false imputation, and that nothing should ever persuade him to it. But what might lead to a suspicion of the sincerity of these protestations, is, that the prince added these remarkable words: “Romanovna herself may perhaps give credit to reports that flatter her vanity: she is a simpleton, whom I never promised to marry, but in case the grand duchess should die; and she is still alive.”

However, as Peter Schuvaloff was sincerely desirous of an accommodation with the grand duke, he omitted to give this last avowal all the interpretation of which it was susceptible, and was satisfied with the promise given him by the prince, that he would blot from his memory all the machinations that had been so daringly formed against him.

This reconciliation was effected without trouble, but one other still remained, not less important, and far more difficult to obtain. We have



have seen what odious suspicions the enemies of the grand duke were continually pouring into the ears of the empress. That princess was alarmed with the apprehension that her nephew might be led to get rid of her by poison, and these fears augmented her weakness, and filled her with aversion for him that had raised them. Ever since her illness had prevented her from appearing in public, she had ordered the grand duke to be denied admittance to her apartment; and that this order might appear the less extraordinary, she had caused it in like manner to be signified to the grand duchess. The secret of these divisions, of these disturbances in the imperial family, was still confined within the walls of the palace; but it might easily get vent, and be spread through the town; and if this should be the case, if the empress should have died without seeing the prince and his spouse, the populace, always implicitly credulous, would have thought the unjust suspicions of Elizabeth to have been founded in truth, and would have eagerly attributed to the nephew the death of the aunt. Something was therefore to be done to induce that princess to call the grand duke to her presence.

Count Ivan Schuvaloff was grand chamberlain, and the principal person about the empress.

Panin

Panin thought him the properest man to solicit the reconciliation he wanted; but whether it was that Schuvaloff was afraid of troubling the empress too much in her present infirm condition; whether he was willing to keep the grand duke longer in an anxious suspense, and avoid an explanation of the uttermost danger to all those who had endeavoured to injure that prince; or whether, in a word, he reckoned on the surreptitious testament it was proposed to bring to light; however it be, he absolutely refused to make this request.

Panin, on seeing the failure of his first attempt, addressed himself now to the confessor of Elizabeth. He frankly acknowledged to him, that the commission with which he was charged was of a nature extremely delicate; and that though his solicitude for the salvation of the sovereign might bring upon him remediless misfortune, yet the glory and comfort that would accrue to him from the success of his aim, should make him scorn disgrace, and expect his recompence in a better world. He assured him likewise of the gratitude of the grand duke and grand duchess; and the monk, not less wishing, it may be supposed, to cherish the favour of the heir to the throne, than zealous for the eternal repose of the empress, promised to deliver his exhortations

ations to her with all the energy of sacred eloquence.

Every needful precaution was taken. A moment was chosen when Ivan Schuvaloff was absent, and then the confessor approaching the bed of Elizabeth, discoursed to her of heavenly things, of the supreme and immortal sovereign by whom earthly monarchs reign, of his justice, of his clemency, of his tribunal, before which only they who forgive can obtain forgiveness, and of that kingdom of God, of which the terrestrial paradise was but a faint adumbration, but where only the charitable can obtain admission, but where only the merciful can hope for mercy: which ended, he obtained of her a sign of consent. At this instant the grand duke entered, leading Catharine by the hand, who both fell on their knees by the bedside, and Elizabeth pronounced in an indistinct tone of voice, and as if no more than the animal machine was concerned in the utterance, whatever was dictated to her by the priest. She said to the prince and princess:—"That she had always loved them; and "that with her dying breath she wished them all "kinds of blessings."

All that were witnesses of this scene saw clearly, that the pardon came only from her lips; but appearances sufficed the prince; and his partisans



tisans did not fail emphatically to repeat through the city the affectionate words pronounced by the empress, with several additions of their own.

On the other hand, Ivan Schuvaloff, who had not been able to make a merit of the reconciliation with the grand duke, but resolved not to furnish an occasion for irritating that prince against him, studiously omitted to contradict whatever they pleased to publish on the matter.

Proud of the important service he had rendered the grand duke, Panin imagined he had thenceforward acquired such a consequence with him as to make him consent entirely to the plan he had marked out. According to which, Peter, as soon as the empress had departed this life, was to repair to the senate, and there receive the crown by a solemn decree.

Panin therefore demanded an audience of the grand duke. This the prince granted without hesitation. He began by telling the prince, that what he had to deliver was worthy of all his attention. He then addressed him to the following effect :—" It is on the first step you shall  
" take on ascending the throne, that the pro-  
" sperity of your reign and the glory you will  
" merit chiefly depend. There are two me-  
" thods, my prince, of investing yourself with

“ the sovereign power ;—the former, by causing  
“ yourself to be proclaimed emperor by the  
“ army ; the second, by receiving the crown at  
“ the hands of the senate. The former is more  
“ prompt ; the latter more sure. The eyes of  
“ all Europe and a great part of Asia are fixed  
“ upon you. Reflect then on the honour you  
“ will acquire among the numerous nations in  
“ subjection to your sovereignty, and even fo-  
“ reigners too, when they behold you so gene-  
“ rous as to wish to hold, from the free choice  
“ of the representatives of the russian empire,  
“ an authority which your predecessors owed only  
“ to the force and venality of the troops.

“ You know how frequent revolutions have  
“ been in this empire ; you know with what  
“ facility a seduced or mutinous soldiery have  
“ crowned or dethroned their monarchs. The  
“ method that I propose is the only one adapted  
“ to the prevention of dangerous machinations.  
“ The senate, having once elected you, will  
“ feel itself interested in supporting the work of  
“ its hands ; and the people, regarding your  
“ person more sacred, will always be ardent in  
“ your defence.”

The grand duke was moved ; he was yielding  
to the impression, when suddenly two of his  
courtiers entered. He communicated to them  
the

the proposal of Panin, and asked their opinion. One of them, who presently perceived the insidious nature of the measure proposed to the prince, advised him to submit his decision to the judgment of the old prince Trubetskoï, whose long experience and consummate wisdom rendered him a proper guide. Prince Trubetskoï had indeed been witness of several revolutions, and was a perfect master of the usages and customs of his country.

He was sent for. The grand duke repeated to him all that he had just been hearing from the mouth of Panin, and did not conceal his inclination to follow the advice of the count. But Trubetskoï expressed himself of a different opinion, and delivered it with all the boldness of a veteran soldier, jealous of the honour of his sovereigns.

“ My prince,” said he, “ the step you have  
“ been advised to take is not only attended with  
“ far greater danger than that you are told to  
“ dread, but in direct opposition to the customs  
“ of the empire. The russian constitution is  
“ purely military ; and the senate has never pre-  
“ tended to interfere in the election of the tzars.  
“ And what is that imaginary glory in preferring  
“ to be crowned by a juridical assembly rather  
“ than by a victorious army ? Chosen by a diet or  
“ by

*Turn back again*



unfortunate wretches was the famous Biren\*, who had long been the haughty lover and the cruel

\* Ernest John Biren, become so famous by his great advancements, and his not less extraordinary reverses of fortune, was born in Courland, of a family of mean extraction. His grandfather had been head groom to James the third, duke of Courland, and obtained from his master the present of a small estate in land. His son accompanied prince Alexander, youngest son of the duke, in a campaign into Hungary against the Turks, in quality of groom of his horse, and with the rank of lieutenant. Prince Alexander being killed before Buda, in 1686, Biren returned into Courland, and was appointed master huntsman to the duke. Ernest John his second son was born in 1687, received the early part of his education in Courland, and was sent to the university of Konigsburg, where he continued till some youthful imprudencies compelled him to retire. In 1714, he made his appearance at St. Petersburg, and solicited the place of page to the princess Charlotte, wife of the tzarovitch Alexey; but being contemptuously rejected as a person of mean extraction, retired to Mittau, where he chanced to ingratiate himself with count Bestucheff, master of the household to Anne, widow of Frederic William, duke of Courland, who resided at Mittau. Being of a handsome figure and polite address, he soon gained the good-will of the duchess, and became her secretary and chief favourite. On her being declared sovereign of Russia, Anne called Biren to Petersburg, and the secretary soon became duke of Courland, and first minister or rather despot of Russia. All now felt the dreadful effects of his extreme arrogance, his base intrigues, and his horrid barbarity. The cruelties he exercised on the most illustrious persons of the country

cruel minister of the empress Anne. Peter III. restored him only to liberty; but Catharine since gave him back the duchy of Courland; and Biren, instructed in the school of adversity, passed the rest of his life as a practical philosopher, and became the father of a people whom he had formerly oppressed.

Peter III. brought also from Siberia marshal Munich\*, at the age of 82, upon which one  
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almost exceed belief; and Manstein conjectures, that, during the ten years in which Biren's power continued, above 20,000 persons were sent to Siberia, of whom scarcely 5000 were ever heard of more. It is affirmed that the empress has often fallen on her knees before him, in hopes of moving him to clemency, but neither the prayers nor the tears of that princess were able to affect him.—On the death of Anne, which happened in 1740, Biren, being declared regent, continued daily increasing his vexations and cruelties, till he was arrested on the 18th of December, only twenty days after he had been appointed to the regency, and at the revolution that ensued he was exiled to the frozen shores of the Oby.

\* Christopher Burchard, better known under the name of marshal Munich, was son of an officer in the service of Denmark. After having received a good education, he entered at the age of 17 into the service of the landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt, and distinguished himself in his first campaign under prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough. He afterwards went into Poland, and thence passed on to Russia,

of his sons who was yet alive, and thirty-two of his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, went to accost him on his approach to the suburbs of the residence. The old foldier presented himself before the emperor with his numerous family, and dressed in the same sheepskin pelice which he had worn in the deserts of Pelim; but the prince hastily restored him the badges of the order of St. Andrew, together with his rank of field-marshal, and said to him, in a friendly tone of voice: "I hope that, notwithstanding your advanced age, you may still serve me."—Munich replied: "Since your majesty has brought me from darkness to light, and called

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Russia, where his bravery and his talents obtained him the rank of field-marshal. His capital defect was being too circumstantial and over-nice in matters of small import: accordingly the slightest instance of forgetfulness, the least inattention of a subaltern, threw him into a rage, though he was presently after ashamed of his violence. When Elizabeth had ascended the throne, she sought to avenge herself on Munich, for having formerly caused one of her lovers to be put into prison. Being brought to an iniquitous trial, he was condemned to be quartered; but his sentence was changed by the empress into perpetual banishment in Siberia. He was followed into exile by his wife and several domestics. He was allowed but 12 copecks per day for the maintenance of them all, but he procured some addition to this allowance by selling milk, and giving lessons in geometry to the young people that came to his solitude from the nearest towns.



“ me from the depths of a cavern to admit me  
“ to the foot of the throne, you will find me  
“ ever ready to expose my life in your service.  
“ Neither a tedious exile, nor the severity of a  
“ Siberian climate, have been able to extinguish,  
“ or even to damp the ardour I have formerly  
“ shewn for the interests of Russia and the glory  
“ of its monarch \*.”

Leftok, to whom Elizabeth in a great measure owed her elevation to the throne, and whom she afterwards basely sacrificed to the intrigues of his enemies, who only coveted his property, was also recalled by Peter III. † and, by living afterwards at Petersburg contented with an humble mediocrity, proved that he had shewn no less docility to the lessons of adversity than Biren and Munich.

Thus every day were seen arriving at Petersburg some of the victims of the foregoing reign; and their return presented an affecting scene to the people, and a subject of benedictions to

\* Munich enjoyed the favour and patronage of Peter III. and Catharine II. and died on the 16th of October 1767, in the 85th year of his age.

† Leftok was a surgeon; by birth a German. He was favourite to Elizabeth, and was a principal in planning the revolution of 1742. But that ungrateful princess forgot this favour, and banished and detained him in prison till she died.

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the tzar. The whole empire resounded with the praises of its new sovereign; and it is impossible to describe the admiration, the transports of joy, that it occasioned on his going in state to the senate, and reading a declaration, by which he permitted the nobility either to bear arms or not, at their own discretion, and to travel abroad, a liberty not allowed them before. He enfranchised them at the same time from the servitude in which they had been held by his predecessors. The nobility, in the excess of their gratitude, would do no less than erect to him a statue of gold: but this enthusiasm lasted not long\*.

A benefit more essential which Russia owes to Peter III. is the abolishment of that inquisition, that terrible tribunal, or, as his successor, when she confirmed the emperor's ukase, very justly

\* For which ordinance see Appendix, No. II. Catharine, not willing to disoblige the nobility, and being moreover very sure that this ordinance would only be executed as far as she pleased, left it to subsist; in such manner, that if the nobles would travel, they may of right, but not of fact, since they must ask permission of the sovereign; and that princess did not always grant it. Of this count Stroganoff was a proof. For more than three years he was desirous of making the tour of Europe; but it was in vain that he solicited the consent of the empress; who always gave him for answer, that she could not dispense with him; and he remained at home.

named it, the secret inquisition chancery, a persecuting court that shunned the light, in which every cruelty of indefinite accusation, and an examination without judicial forms prevailed, and which perpetrated so many horrors under the reign of the suspicious and timid Elizabeth. Alexey Michailovitch, the father of Peter the great, was the institutor of this tyrannical tribunal, under the name of the secret committee, which was busied in judging or rather in condemning all such as were accused of high-treason, in other words, whoever was displeasing to the prince or his informers. Persons of all ranks and sexes were liable to be arrested upon the slightest suspicions, and tortured in the most dreadful manner. There was a by-word; "Slovo i delo," "words and facts;" which if any one only pronounced against another, was sufficient cause for the latter to be immediately apprehended, and sent to the secret committee.

But it ought to be noticed how Peter III. came to utter these two declarations, dictated by the most enlightened notions of justice, and the most generous confidence. It should be explained how it happened, that in the conduct of this prince was to be seen such an extraordinary mixture of foresight and forgetfulness, of dignity and weakness. His defects, his vices, were the  
unhappy



unhappy and necessary effect of his education; his worthy actions proceeded from the noble ambition of doing good : but this ambition was often in need of being roused.

The tzar had, in quality of his general aid-de-camp, an intimate friend, a young Ukraïner, named Gudovitch \*, of whom we have before made mention, and who, of all his courtiers, was the only one that loved him sincerely. It was Gudovitch, who, when Peter was on the point of coming to the throne, induced him to follow the advice of the old prince Trubetzkoi, rather than implicitly to rely on that of Panin ; it was he likewise who prompted him to all those prudent and dignified measures which signalized the first days of his reign. But the emperor, surrounded by his corrupters, soon fell back into his indolence, and more than ever abandoned himself to his customary habits. Shut up for several days successively with his mistress and some of his table-companions, he was in a state of almost continual intoxication, when Gudovitch presented himself before him, and, with a countenance of studied severity, said to him : “ Peter Feodorovitch, I now plainly perceive that you prefer

\* The same whom the tzar, while only grand duke, would have made hetman of the Kofaks, in the room of Cyril Razumoffsky.

“ to us the enemies of your fame. You are  
“ irrecoverably subservient to them; you ac-  
“ knowledge them to have had good reason for  
“ saying that you were more addicted to low and  
“ degrading pleasures, than fit to govern an em-  
“ pire. Is it thus that you emulate your vigilant  
“ and laborious grandsire, that Peter the great  
“ whom you have so often swore to take for your  
“ model? Is it thus that you persevere in the  
“ wise and noble conduct, by which, at your ac-  
“ cession to the throne, you merited the love and  
“ the admiration of your people? But that love,  
“ that admiration, are already forgotten. They  
“ are succeeded by discontent and murmurs.  
“ Petersburg is anxiously inquiring whether the  
“ tzar has ceased to live within its walls? The  
“ whole empire begins to fear that it has che-  
“ rished only vain expectations of receiving laws  
“ that shall revive its vigour, and increase its  
“ glory. The malevolent are alone triumphant;  
“ and soon will the intrigues, the cabals, which  
“ the first moments of your reign had reduced  
“ to silence, again raise their heads with re-  
“ doubled insolence. Shake off then this dis-  
“ graceful lethargy, my tzar! hasten to shew and  
“ to prove, by some resplendent act of virtue,  
“ that you are worthy of realising those hopes that  
“ have been formed and cherished of you.”

Peter listened to this discourse with a mixture of consternation and shame; and when Gudovitch had left off speaking, he asked what he would have him to do to compensate the empire for the days he had been spending in riot. Gudovitch instantly presented him the two declarations that had been put into his hands by the grand chancellor Vorontzoff—one for restoring the nobility to their rights, and the other for abolishing the secret committee. Peter took these papers without staying to consider of them, and putting them under his arm, went and read them to the senate.

All those who were apprized of the contents of these new declarations made their discontentment give place to joy, and fondly imagined that the emperor had been solely employed, during his late retreat, in framing these wise and salutary laws.

Peter III. undertook also to correct the numerous abuses that had crept into the administration of justice, and to establish some forms of jurisprudence more prompt in deciding, and less favourable to the arts of chicane; but as an alteration attended with so many difficulties was not the work of a day, it was necessary for him to begin by gaining a thorough knowledge of the courts,



courts, and a close investigation of their practice. He repaired to the senate at an instant when he was not expected ; and finding it nearly deserted, he sent for the senators, and represented to them with sharpness, but with dignity, how sensible he was of their negligence \*.

Commerce, the sciences, the arts, were equally the objects of attention to the new czar. In Russia almost every department of the administration is confided to a certain number of persons, who form a board, to which is given the title of College : thus it is said, the College of Commerce, the College of Justice, the College of War, the College of Foreign Affairs, and the like. Peter III. frequently visited these colleges ; he assisted at their deliberations ; he even summoned them together ; and though he might not enlighten them by his sagacity, he at least animated them by his encouragements.

He seemed to have it at heart to induce the people to put confidence in him. But this was no easy task ; for the people, by the suggestion of

\* On a similar occasion, Peter I. behaved with somewhat less moderation. He gave each of them a shower of blows with his *doubine*—a staff that he always carried with him, and in size was not one of the smallest.

the popes\*, knew that this prince preferred lutheranism to the orthodox greek religion, and the Germans to the Russians. Nevertheless the tzar, docile to the advice of his friend, and sedulous to imitate the example of the king of Prussia, gave easy audience to all who came, received their petitions, and took the pains himself to see that justice was done them. His very enemies, therefore, could not forbear to extol a popularity that reminded them, in some respects, of that of Peter the great.

Peter III. on his first accession to the crown, invited the foreign ministers to his audience, and received their congratulations with dignity. This noble and becoming behaviour, in entire opposition to the idea they had almost all formed of this prince, exceedingly surprised them: but what astonished them still more was, that in a splendid repast which he gave them, he was very reserved in his discourse, and drank with moderation†. In short, the Russians and foreigners vied with each other in admiring a change which they

\* All the parish-priests in Russia are called popes. The pope of such a church, village, &c.

† His enemies, always faithful to their plan of calumny, studiously propagated, both within and without the empire, the report that this prince was almost perpetually in a state of inebriety.

could

could scarcely credit. Even the court of Vienna for some time securely reposed in the intentions of the new tzar. Maria Theresa flattered herself that the death of Elizabeth would not totally dissolve the alliance that subsisted between the two empires; but she was deceived in her expectations.

It was impossible for Peter III. to dissemble; and of all the sentiments he entertained, that which he was least able to conceal was his enthusiasm for the king of Prussia. He set at liberty all the prussian prisoners that were confined at Petersburg, and admitted them to his table. One of them, whom he treated with the greatest deference, was the count de Hordt, a swedish officer, who had entered into the service of Frederic, and whom Elizabeth had detained three years in exile\*. The tzar took him into

\* Count de Hordt, lieutenant-general of the prussian troops, was made prisoner by the Russians after the battle of Custrin. Elizabeth sent him into banishment in revenge for the treatment of a russian officer, whom the king of Prussia had caused to be broke alive on the wheel, for forming a plot of revolt, and meditating to massacre the garrison of Custrin, where he was kept prisoner. When Hordt appeared before Peter III. and related to him, that, independently of the ill-treatment he had received in prison, he had been denied the use of books; Catharine, who was present, exclaimed: "That was very barbarous."

his



his confidence, made him his friend, and almost always conversed with him on the king of Prussia.

He but rarely invited the foreign ministers to his court, excepting the prussian envoy and Mr. Keith, the british ambassador; which rendered his coolness the more disagreeable to the rest. Peter had long kept up a close correspondence with Frederic, whom he addressed in his letters under no other style than his dear brother or his worthy master. He reminded him in one of them, that previous to his being elected grand duke, he had had the honour of serving in his army; and went so far as to pray him to grant him a higher rank.

The king of Prussia very dexterously took advantage of the friendship of the czar. He gave him not immediately the rank he solicited, that he might increase his avidity for it; but after some time had elapsed, wrote him word that he had appointed him major-general, not on account of his quality as a prince, but solely because of the military skill he knew him to possess. This pretended favour filled Peter with joy. His fascination for the king of Prussia became now more strong. He caused the portrait of that monarch to be placed in his chamber,

ber \*, and celebrated this inauguration, and the glory he had acquired in being admitted to a rank at Berlin, by a splendid repast, in which he forgot that temperance which he had for some time observed.

If Peter's infatuation for the king of Prussia had not been complete, he might have been corrected of it by some lessons he received from his own subjects. To mention but one. "Do you know," said he one day to the hetman Razumoffsky, "do you know that, before I was grand duke, I was lieutenant in the service of the king of Prussia?"—"Well!" replied the kozac, "your majesty may now make the king of Prussia a field-marshal."

The prussian ascendant was not only displeasing to the generality of the courtiers and to some of the foreign ministers, but the alterations introduced by the tzar did not meet with universal approbation. Some of them even created him

\* It was a portrait which count Totleben had made a present of to the empress Elizabeth, who had dismissed it into an obscure corner of the palace; and during the whole of her reign nobody might keep a portrait of the king of Prussia. The grand duke alone had a miniature, which he wore on his finger in a ring, and which he took care to conceal when he was in the presence of his aunt.

a great

a great number of enemies, and evinced that if he had sometimes good intentions, he was deficient in judgment, and especially in that energy of character so necessary for the ruler of a nation. Together with the wisest plans he often adopted such as were useless, and others that were even dangerous. The desire of making improvements made him imprudently hazard premature reformations.

Peter took the vast possessions of the church, and made them into domains of the crown, putting the clergy on yearly salaries, but forming a very decent income, of 5000 down to 150 rubles. It was, undoubtedly, just and beneficial to diminish the wealth of the monks, and to attack prejudices injurious to the state; but at the commencement of a reign against which prepossessions had long been formed, in a nation sunk in superstition, and just beginning to emerge from barbarism, was it expedient to irritate a numerous class of men, who by their situation had so much influence over the rest? Was it expedient to take from the churches the figures of the saints, which to the Russians are the objects of profound veneration? Was it expedient to excite the sacred rage of the devotees by banishing the archbishop of Novgorod, who stood forth against this violation? Surely not: and yet this was what Peter did; but he found



found himself suddenly obliged to recal this prelate : and by this fresh instance of weakness he revived the hopes of his enemies, and did not pacify the offended popes. They spread a report from one end of the empire to the other, that the emperor had only feigned to embrace the greek communion to qualify himself for filling the throne, but that he was still a lutheran at heart, of which he was every day giving fresh proofs by shewing a profound contempt for the rites, the ceremonies, and the religion of the Russians.

To corroborate these reports, the people were reminded, that he had caused to be built, in his palace at Oranienbaum, a lutheran chapel, at the consecration whereof he himself had assisted, distributing with his own hands hymn-books among his holstein soldiers, though he had not deigned to set his foot in a greek church that was constructed about the same time. It was said that he had again insulted the saints, in naming two of his newly-constructed ships, the one after his uncle, the prince George, and the other the Frederic, after the king of Prussia\*.

\* Catharine, who knew how to flatter the people, changed the names of these two ships. The one was called the St. Nicholas, the other the St. Alexander. Their holy patrons, however, did not save them from the Turks in the war of 1768 : they were both taken.

It was industriously propagated, that he never spoke but with disdain of the russian empire, and only with respect of the Germans. All these reports, circulated with artifice, soon alienated from the prince those hearts which the first days of his reign had won him.

While his adversaries were thus easily rendering him so suspected of the people, he himself was seemingly taking pains to offend the army. He was continually shewing preferences to the german soldiers over the russian troops. He disbanded the noble guards, who had formerly placed Elizabeth on the throne; he deprived the horse guards of the service they performed at court, and substituted his holstein guards in their place. He introduced the prussian exercise, which was undoubtedly better than that to which they had been accustomed, but which displeased because it was still to be learned; he excited discontents in the regiments of Ismailoff and Préobajensky, by ordering one part to leave St. Petersburg, and march into Pomerania, to join the army he had destined to act against Denmark. He raised his uncle, prince George of Holstein, an officer of but little experience, to the rank of generalissimo of the russian armies, giving him at the same time the particular command of the horse guards—a command which

had hitherto never belonged to any one but the supreme head of the empire. In short, he so far prejudiced his troops against him, that the most beneficial alteration occasioned a general discontent. It was even made a subject of murmur, that he designed to distinguish the regiments by different facings and collars\*.—It was said to be a german fashion, not proper for Russia.

The king of Prussia, whom Peter III. informed, with scrupulous care, of all that he was doing, frequently gave him advice. His first step was to dissuade him from the plans of hostility he was meditating against Denmark, in order to recover his dukedom of Holstein: but seeing that he could not induce him to alter his resolution, he advised him, previous to his entering on the war, to go and be crowned at Mosco, with all the customary pomp and ceremony, and not to set out on his march for the army without taking with him the foreign ministers and all the Russians whose fidelity he had reason to suspect. He also recommended him not to begin too soon to touch the possessions of

\* It has been falsely asserted that Peter III. wanted to introduce in Russia the blue colour instead of green in the clothing of the troops: he changed nothing but the trimmings and the facings of the dress of the infantry.



the church, and not to meddle with the drefs of the monks, as all thefe minute particulars are of the utmoft confequence in the eyes of a bigoted race. In fhort, he ufed every argument to perfuade him to keep up that deference and refpect which he owed to his fpoufe, and efpecially for his own fecurity\*.

It is not to be doubted that Frederic, who was well acquainted with the character of Peter and that of Catharine, had long forefeen what happened afterwards. Accordingly, writing to his minifter to continue to live in intimacy with the tzar, he gives him orders to pay great attentions to the empress.

However, Peter unhappily thought it not neceffary to follow in all things the leffons of the monarch whom he ftyled his mafter. He infenfibly refumed his vicious habits; frequently

\* Peter III. was fo remote from all miftruff, that he answered the king of Pruffia:—"In regard to the concern  
"you take in my fafety, I befeech you to give yourfelf no  
"uneafinefs. The foldiers call me their father; they fay  
"that they had rather be governed by a man than a wo-  
"man. I take my walks alone about the ftreets of Peterf-  
"burg; if any one defigned to do me harm, he would  
"have executed his purpofe long ago; but I am continually  
"doing good on all occafions that offer, and I truff in the  
"protection of God alone; with that I have nothing to  
"fear."

passing the whole day in drinking and smoaking amidst a company of base courtiers, who, for the most part, were eagerly seeking his ruin, and perfidiously applauding his fantastical humours and his most dangerous innovations.

His behaviour to his spouse was equally inconsistent. At the very moment when he was doing homage to the superiority of her mind, he would let slip some plain intimations of the indignation his wrongs had inspired into his breast. In the most sacred and pompous ceremonies of the russian church, such for example as the benediction of the waters\*, he made her appear adorned

\* The greek church has some similarity with the latin in point of ceremonies, but exceeds it, which is not saying a little, in superstitious rites. Among others, for example, annually on the 6th of January, Twelfth-day, as it is called with us, a singular feast is solemnized, denominated by the Russians the blessing of the waters. For this ceremony at St. Petersburg, a sort of wooden chapel or tabernacle, painted green and stuck about with boughs of fir, is constructed on the ice of the Neva, between the Admiralty and the imperial palace. This little building is covered with a dome, resting on eight small columns, on which stands the figure of John the baptist with the cross in his hand, amidst bulrushes; the inside of the edifice being decorated with paintings representing the baptism of Jesus, his transfiguration, and other transactions of his life. From the centre of the dome is suspended by a chain a monstrous large holy-ghost  
of

adorned with all the marks of imperial dignity, while he was content to follow her train as a

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of wood over the aperture in the ice, round which are spread rich carpets. This little temple is entirely surrounded with palisadoes, which are also ornamented with fir-branches; the space within being likewise covered with carpets. A sort of gallery round the building communicates with a window of the palace, from which the imperial family come forth to attend the ceremony. (For several years past the empress and her grandchildren only saw the solemnity from the windows of the palace.) The ceremony begins immediately when the regiments of guards have taken their station on the river. Then the archbishop appears amid the sound of church bells and the firing of the cannon of the fortress, and proceeds along the carpets, attended by his train of bishops and other ecclesiastics, into this little church, where, standing at the hole in the ice, he dips his crucifix three times in the water, at the same time repeating prayers, and concludes with a particular one to the great saint Nicholas; which done, the water is accounted blessed. The prelate then sprinkles with it all the surrounding multitude, and the banners of all the regiments which are at that time in Petersburg. The consecration ended, he retires; and now the people press in crowds to the hole in the ice, where they drink it with pious avidity: mothers, notwithstanding the cold, dip their naked babes in the stream, and men and women pour it on their heads; every one holds it a duty to take home a vessel of the water, in order to purify their houses, and for the cure of certain diseases, for which it is affirmed to be a powerful specific. During which four popes, one at each corner of the aperture, chant a sort of litany for the occasion.



simple colonel, as if he intended to shew to his people, that she was born to reign, and he to obey. Even at court, he would often leave her to execute the whole of the representation; while he, dressed in the uniform of his regiment, respectfully came and presented to her his officers, whom he called his comrades. Peter the great had formerly done the like with Catharine I. and his minister Mentchikoff: but Peter the great knew how, whenever he had occasion to display the emperor, to employ means which Peter III. had not.

In the mean time the apparent favour of the empress was not of long duration. No sooner did the tzar think himself well settled on the throne, than he no longer concealed his indifference, and sometimes even made her experience it in a very humiliating manner. At the time of the celebration of the peace that had just been signed with the king of Prussia, Peter, who, during the exhibition of the fireworks, was seated by the side of Catharine, on seeing the countess Vorontzoff, his mistress, pass by, called to her, and made her sit down beside him. Catharine immediately retired, without any endeavour to detain her being vouchsafed on the part of her husband.

The same evening, at supper, he drank the health of prince George of Holstein; at which  
all

all the company rose up, excepting Catharine, who pretended to have got a hurt in her foot. Peter, irritated that the empress should affect to fail in the respect which she owed to her uncle, launched at her an epithet, which, whether or not she deserved, the emperor ought to have spared his spouse. Catharine was so mortified that she could not refrain from weeping, and spoke for some time, in a low voice, of this affront to her chamberlain Stroganoff\*, whom she had again the vexation to see almost immediately put under arrest. But her tears interested the spectators, as the harshness of Peter excited their indignation.

It was by scenes of this nature that the empress felt her hopes revive. She saw that she should soon get the better of the tzar, by opposing to his flights and imprudent rudeness, great circumspection and the arts of address. She now made it her sole employment to gain those hearts which he was losing. Instructed from her infancy in the arts of dissimulation, it was not difficult for her to affect, in the sight of the multitude, sentiments the most foreign to her mind. The pupil of the philosophers now put on the air of a bigot: she sedulously repaired

\* Count Stroganoff passed for one of the favourites of Catharine.

every day to the churches of Petersburg, praying with all the semblance of a sincere and fervent devotion, punctual in the most superstitious practices of the greek religion, accosting the poor with benignity, and treating the popes with reverence; who failed not afterwards to go proclaiming her praises from house to house.

In the apartments of the palace, the way of life pursued by this married couple was not less different. While Peter III. was shut up with the countess Vorontzoff, Mr. Keith, some prussian officers, and others of his favourites; while he was so far forgetful of his rank as to live familiarly with buffoons, and to make them at times sit at table with him \*, the empress kept her court with such a mixture of dignity and affability as charmed all those that approached her; she particularly made it her study to attract to her such persons as, by their reputation, their courage, or their intrigues, might become useful to her.

By these acts of imprudence the tzar displeased not only the greater part of the Russians, but al-

\* One evening among others, after the play, at the countess Narishkin's, he caused the comedians to sit down promiscuously with the ladies and grandees of the court, and seated beside him a dancer, whom he called his little wife.



most all the agents from the foreign courts. The minister of Denmark never appeared before him, but he was sure to meet with some disagreeable behaviour; that of Austria was always accosted with coolness; and even the ambassador of France\*, who had enjoyed such high consideration during the late reign, was presently made to perceive that the intentions of Peter III. were not more favourable towards the court of Versailles than to that of Vienna †.

Peter

\* It was M. de Breteuil who succeeded M. de l'Hôpital. When Peter concluded a treaty of peace and amity with Frederic, there was certainly nothing blameable in his enthusiastical attachment to one of the most extraordinary characters of modern history; only in many displays of this attachment and admiration we do not discern the autocratic monarch of a mighty empire. If Peter, on one hand, put a stop to the slaughter and ravages of war, and in their stead restored tranquillity and the blessings of peace; yet, on the other, he only began with more violence, and contrary to the advice of all experienced persons, his long-concerted hostilities against Denmark, which, according to his plan, were to proceed to a real war of extermination, as it was his determination to drive Frederic V. out of all his European territories, and confine him to the dominion of Trankenbar.

† Peter gave proofs of this on every occasion. When the model of the new rubles was shewn him for his approbation, perceiving that the artist had represented him with a large wig of monstrous curls flowing down his shoulders, he

Peter III. had already come to the resolution of putting an end to hostilities against Frederic ;  
and

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he exclaimed that he would not have such a head-dress as that ; it would make him look like the king of France. Supping one evening with the grand chancellor Vorontzoff, where the foreign ministers were invited, the czar kept incessantly talking of the king of Prussia all supper-time. He was acquainted with all his campaigns, even to the minutest particulars. He harangued upon them with delight, always accompanying the encomiums he lavished on his hero with farcical and ironical invectives against his enemies. He rose from table after having drank greatly too much ; then the punch that he took, and the tobacco that he smoked, completed his intoxication. A party at cards was proposed ; the emperor accepted it, and was one of the first who lost against the french ambassador. Then, seeing the spanish minister, M. d'Almodovar, who had taken his place, he went up to the former and said in his ear, alluding to the war against the English : " Spain will lose."—" I think not," returned the Frenchman ; " we are on her side, and she has shewn herself formidable even when alone."—The emperor, with a shrug and a sneering smile, only said : " Ah ! ah !"—" However, sir," answered the ambassador gravely, " France and Spain are very easy on that score : and if they retain the alliance of your majesty, they will be equally so in regard to the war on the Continent and with Germany."—Peter paused for a moment, and then answered in a high tone of voice : " I will have peace."—" We wish for it as much as your majesty," replied the ambassador ; " but we would have  
" it

and being of a character little fitted to wait the slow produce of a joint negotiation, gave way to his ardent desires for peace, and to the sentiments of that extravagant admiration, which he had conceived for the king of Prussia. A suspension of hostilities was concluded between them on the 16th of March; and it was followed not long after\* by a treaty of peace and alliance. Nothing was stipulated by the tzar in favour of his former confederates, whom he entirely abandoned. He even agreed to join his troops to those of the king of Prussia to act against them. In a little time a russian army was seen in conjunction with one of Prussia, to drive out of Silesia those Austrians, who had been a few months before brought into that province by the russian arms.

This was a miraculous revolution, Fortune, who had so long abandoned the king of Prussia to his genius, after having persecuted him for near five years, and overpowered him with the

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"it safe, honourable, and in concert with our allies."—"Just as you please," exclaimed the tzar. "For me, I will have peace: do afterwards as you think proper." This anecdote was related by M. de Breteuil himself; but it does not prove, it should seem, that the tzar was quite so drunk as that minister pretended.

\* May 5.

whole



whole weight of her anger, at length made amends by a sudden turn, and did for him, at one stroke, the only thing by which he could possibly be saved.

Sweden, who since she has recovered her liberty has lost her political importance, and for a long time acted entirely under the direction of russian councils, followed, on this, as on all other occasions, the example of the court of Peterburg, and signed a treaty of peace with the king of Prussia on the 22d of May.

In order to account for whatever was not the result of mere personal character in this extraordinary revolution of politics in Russia, it will be necessary to remind the reader, that the tzar Peter the Third was duke of Holstein; and that the dukes of Holstein had pretensions to the duchy of Sleswick. These pretensions were compromised by a treaty in 1732. But as the cession made by the house of Holstein in this treaty was the effect of necessity, it had been always apprehended that she would make use of the first safe opportunity of reclaiming her ancient rights. The tzar seized eagerly on the great one, which the possession of the whole russian power afforded him, and he resolved to enter into an immediate war for this object, to which his predilection for his native country gave in his eyes a far greater importance

portance than to all the conquests of his predecessor. As long as this war with the king of Prussia subsisted, it was impossible that his designs against Denmark could be prosecuted with any hope of success. Wholly indifferent therefore to all others, and passionately fond of this object, as soon as he came to the throne, without any dispute or negotiation, he offered the king of Prussia, in his great distress, every thing he could have hoped from a series of victories, and whilst he joined his arms to those of that monarch in Silesia, he caused an army to march towards Holstein.

Accordingly, some few days afterwards, he dispatched his orders to general count Chernicheff, who commanded the 30,000 russian auxiliaries in the austrian army, and which had taken up their winter-quarters in Moravia, to march them into Poland through Silesia. A second messenger followed close at the heels of the former, with orders to the same general to act with his troops in concert with those of the king of Prussia, and to conform in all things to the pleasure of that monarch. The czar did not even deign to communicate these measures either to the courts of Vienna and Versailles, nor to the ministers from those courts present with him. The first intimation they had of them was through the gazettes.

Some

Some time afterwards, the russian ambassador at Vienna declared to prince Kaunitz, " that the  
" tzar, finding the method of a congress too  
" tardy, had preferred a direct negotiation with  
" the king of Prussia; that he was on the eve of  
" making a peace with that monarch; that he  
" advised the court of Vienna to imitate his ex-  
" ample; and that it would be astonishing if it  
" should take in ill part what he had done, since  
" the war of Germany was not only foreign to  
" him, and prejudicial to himself, but burden-  
" some to his people."

This declaration was immediately followed up by the treaty which he concluded May 5, 1762; and was dictated by the baron de Goltz, sent by the king of Prussia to St. Petersburg in quality of minister plenipotentiary, and Mr. Keith, the english ambassador.

Peter III. caused the peace to be celebrated with the greatest magnificence. The rejoicings lasted several days; he himself was present at them, dressed in a prussian uniform, decorated with the order of the black eagle which had been sent him by Frederic: and as if he had been resolved to seize the opportunity afforded by these festivities for inflicting a greater insult on Austria, he caused the ambassador \* from Maria Theresa

\* The count de Mercy, who was afterwards ambassador in France.



to be invited ; but that minister indignantly rejected the invitation.

During all the time that these entertainments lasted, scarcely a day passed that Peter did not finish by drinking to excess, and his excesses were always followed by some dangerous indiscretion. One evening, according to custom, he turned the conversation on Frederic ; then, fixing the eyes of the councillor of state Volkoff, he suddenly exclaimed : “ You must agree that “ he is a magician, a forcerer, that king of “ Prussia ! He knew all our plans for the “ campaign, as soon as we had resolved on “ them.” Volkoff reddened with embarrassment. Peter said to him, “ Why that embarrassment ? “ you have no longer any need to fear Siberia. “ Is it not true, that, notwithstanding the dread “ you had of it, you communicated to me all the “ plans and projects that were resolved on in the “ council, and that I sent them off to his majesty “ the king \* ?”

Towards the termination of the rejoicings that were made for celebrating the peace between Russia and Prussia, the czar, who guessed how much the ambassador of Vienna must be incensed, and doubtless was inclined more deeply

\* It was thus he styled Frederic II. unless when he called him his preceptor, his friend, his brother.

to affront him, sent him word, "that, since the  
" empress-queen alone threw obstacles in the  
" way of a general pacification, from a spirit of  
" unbounded ambition, and the unjust desire of  
" recovering Silesia and the county of Glatz, so  
" solemnly ceded to Prussia, he had resolved to  
" send 20,000 men more into Germany, in order  
" to force Maria Theresa to relinquish her illegitimate pretensions."

Every thing seemed to announce that this would not end in an empty menace. The king of Prussia already began to flatter himself that fresh succours would soon be added to the Russians, who were marching under his banners; and such, in fact, were the intentions of the czar. But a sudden catastrophe frustrated the expectations of Frederic, and wrought a change in the court of Russia.

In the midst of these warlike preparations, of these reformations undertaken but seldom effected, and of these useless festivities, Peter III. was not unmindful of the countess Vorontzoff; he allowed her, on the contrary, daily to gain over him new accessions of sway. This young woman, not shrewd, but stupidly proud, and directed by an ambitious and crafty father, found means to induce the czar, one while by flattering, at another by scolding, and sometimes by carrying

ing her frowardness so far as to dare to beat him, to renew the promise he had made, while yet only grand duke, that he would marry her, and place her in the room of Catharine on the throne of Russia.

Proud of this hope, she had the imprudence to boast of it, and this imprudence brought on her ruin. While her father and some of the courtiers who were so devoted to him, were labouring at paving her way to the throne, the jealousies without number that her present influence and her future grandeur had created, the enemies of the tzar and the partisans of the empress, were all striving, as if by consent, to find means for excluding her from it.

Peter III. not a whit less indiscreet than the countess Vorontzoff, seemed to authorise by his conduct the reports that she spread, and he even no longer seemed to take any pains to conceal his intention to repudiate Catharine, and to declare the illegitimacy of Paul Petrovitch. However, he had resolved to cover this act of despotism with an appearance of justice, fondly imagining, that, on publishing to the world the proofs of the infidelities of Catharine, his conduct would meet the approbation of all his subjects and the rest of Europe.



The countess Vorontzoff, informed by the aged senator her father of the first amours of the empress with Soltikoff, had long since taken care that the czar should have no reason to complain that she kept the secret from him: she apprized him of it; and this it was that prevailed on the prince to resolve on declaring the illegitimacy and the exheridation of his son. In consequence of this determination, he recalled Soltikoff from Hamburgh, where he had constantly resided since Elizabeth had appointed him her minister. He loaded him with caresses and benefits, and put every stratagem in practice to draw from him the authentic avowal of the criminal commerce he had formerly held with Catharine. It was visible to all the court, that Soltikoff, incited by the hope of glorious rewards, or intimidated by the dread of serious chastisements, would do whatever the czar desired, and the czar himself did not flatter himself in vain that his worthy chamberlain would not resist his inclinations. He was now only restrained by the difficulty in the choice of a successor.

Although this prince lived openly with the countess Vorontzoff, though he held frequent assignations with a handsome stage-dancer of Petersburg, though he gave reason to think that he

he had various adventures of gallantry; he was not perhaps therefore the fitter for obtaining an heir. By an operation in a small degree similar to that of the judaical rite, which he had undergone in the first years of his marriage, he was freed from an obstacle without procuring greater means. Nature had inspired him with an ardent passion for women; his desires were impetuous, but all seemed to prove that his efforts were doomed to be fruitless. Thinking himself well assured of his misfortune, and, wishing notwithstanding to raise some one to the place of Paul Petrovitch, he conceived all at once a very singular project. He determined to adopt prince Ivan, who had been dethroned by Elizabeth, to declare him his successor, and to unite him in marriage with the young princess of Holstein-Beck, who was then at St. Petersburg, and whom he cherished as his daughter.

Peter III. then with a very few attendants, went privately to the fortress of Schlusfelburg, in the design of making a visit to Ivan\*, without discovering

\* It has already been seen that Ivan III. was still in his cradle, when the revolution that placed Elizabeth on the throne, in 1741, occasioned him to be shut up, with the regent Anne, his mother and all his family, in the fortress of Schlusfelburg. In the first moments of that revolution, the soldiers who entered the apartment of the

discovering himself to him, in order that he might form a judgment whether he was worthy of the elevated station he intended to give him.

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young emperor found him asleep, and waited respectfully till he should awake, to carry him to Elizabeth. That princess took him up in her arms and fondly caressed him; when, perceiving him to smile at the shouts of "Hourra Elizabetha!" which resounded from the gates of the palace, she could not restrain her pity, saying: "Unhappy child! thou knowest not, alas! that they are the cries of joy of those that hurl thee from the throne!" From Schlusselburg Ivan was transported, together with his family, to the fortress of Riga, where they remained 18 months. From Riga they were conveyed to Dunamunde, and afterwards to Oranienburg, a town built by Mentchikoff, in the cold province of Voronetch. There Ivan was separated from his family, who were transported to Kolmogor. A monk who had access to the prison where Ivan was detained, carried him off from Oranienburg, in the design to conduct him to Germany: but he was arrested at Smolensk. Ivan was then shut up in a monastery, situate in the Valdaï, not far from the road that leads from St. Petersburg to Mosco. The empress Elizabeth having a desire to see him, in 1756, caused him to be brought back to Schlusselburg, where he had been put immediately on his dethronement. He was led very secretly to St. Petersburg, in the house of Peter Schuvaloff, where Elizabeth had a pretty long conversation with him, but without making herself known to him. Ivan was then about 16: he was of a good height, of an interesting figure, with fine hair, and a voice of much sweetness. Elizabeth shed many tears as she talked with him: but that did not save Ivan from being led back to his dismal dungeon, where Peter III. six years after went to see him.

The



The emperor, on this expedition, was only attended by count Leof Alexandrevitch Narishkin, his grand ecuyer, baron Ungern-Sternberg, one of his general aides-de-camp, baron Korff, master of the police at St. Petersburg, and the counsellor of state Volkoff. He was himself furnished with an order signed in his own hand, in which he enjoined the commandant to give the bearers free leave to walk about the whole fortrefs, without even excepting the place where Ivan was confined, and to leave them to converse alone with that prince. Peter moreover took care to conceal the ensigns of his dignity, and to recommend Leof Narishkin, who was tall and of a portly figure, to act so as that he should be taken for the emperor. But Ivan was not thus deceived. After having contemplated for some time the strangers that entered his cell, he threw himself all at once at the feet of the tzar. "Tzar!" said he, "you are the master here. I shall not importune you by a long petition; but mitigate the severity of my lot. I have been languishing for a number of years in this gloomy dungeon. The only favour I entreat you to grant, is, that I may be permitted, from time to time, to breathe a freer air."—Peter was extremely affected at these words.—"Rise, prince!" said he to Ivan; and, gently  
P 3                      flapping

flapping his shoulder; "be under no uneasiness  
"for the future. I will employ all the means in  
"my power to render your situation more tole-  
"rable.—But tell me, prince, have you any re-  
"collection of the misfortunes you have ex-  
"perienced from your earlier youth?"—"I  
"have scarcely any idea of those that befell  
"my infancy," replied Ivan; "but, from the  
"moment that I began to feel my misery, I  
"have never ceased from mingling my tears  
"with those of my father and my mother, who  
"were miserable solely because of me: and my  
"greatest distress proceeds from the thoughts of  
"the ill treatment they received, as we were  
"transported from one fortress to another."—  
"Hah! whence came that ill treatment?" in-  
terrogated the czar. "From the officers who  
"conducted us, and who were almost always the  
"most inhuman of mankind," returned Ivan.  
"Do you recollect the names of those officers?"  
said Peter.—"Alas!" replied the young prince,  
"we were not very curious to learn them.  
"We were content to return thanks to heaven  
"on our bended knees, when these monsters  
"were relieved by officers of a less savage dis-  
"position."—"What!" said the emperor, "you  
"never fell into the hands of such as had any  
"humanity?"—"Only one deserved to be dis-  
"tinguished

"tinguished from that pack of tigers," answered Ivan. "He gained our esteem, and we lamented the loss of him. His good nature, his generous attentions will never depart from my remembrance."—"And you neither know the name of that worthy man?" eagerly asked the tzar.—"Oh, as to him, I remember him very well," replied Ivan; "he was called Korff."

This same baron Korff, as we have already seen, was one of them that accompanied Peter. He melted into tears as he heard these particulars; and the tzar, who was not less affected than him, took him by the arm, and said in a broken voice; "Baron, you see how a good action is never lost!"

That he might have time to recover from his emotion, Peter went out with Korff, Narishkin, and Volkoff, leaving baron Ungern-Sternberg alone with Ivan. "How then did you come hither, prince?" then said Ungern-Sternberg. "Who," returned Ivan, "can be guarded and secured against razboïniks\*? One day, an order from I know not who is brought to the prison where I was with my parents. The razboïniks fall upon my family, and tear me from the only persons I knew in the world, and

\* Robbers.



“ who alone had gained my affection and my confidence: I mean my father and my mother, and my brothers and my sisters. Oh how I did cry! and how they themselves, if they are yet alive, must lament the death of their son and their brother!”—“ What do you think will be the lot of our new emperor?” asked the baron. “ If I may judge from my idea of the Russians, it will not be more happy than mine. My father and my mother have often repeated to me, that foreign princes will always be hated and dethroned by the treacherous and haughty Russians.”

The czar now re-entered, with Narishkin, Korff, Volkoff, and accompanied this time by the commandant, to whom he said in the presence of Ivan: “ I order you to give the prince from this moment, all the succours he shall ask, and to allow him at all times to walk and divert himself within the precincts of the fortress. I will send you written orders containing more particulars, by which you are henceforward to regulate your conduct in regard to his sacred person.”

On coming out of Ivan's chamber, the emperor went over the inside of the fortress\*; and, after

\* The fortress of Schlusfelburg, while in the possession of the Swedes called Nöteborg, occupies a small island, situate just

after having examined a spot that seemed to him proper for the construction of an edifice for conveniently lodging the prisoner, he gave orders to the commandant to set the proper workmen about it, and added: " Let it run in a straight line  
" from one wall to the other of this angle of the  
" fort, so as to form nine rooms in front, and  
" the rest of the space, to the extremity of the  
" angle, may be made into a little garden,  
" with which he may amuse himself in the  
" air, and find some alleviation of the severity  
" of his confinement. When the building shall  
" be finished, I will come myself and put the  
" prince in possession."

Probably the tzar only spoke in this manner to the commandant of Schluffelburg as a blind, to prevent him from surmising his real intentions; for otherwise what need had he to give orders for the construction of a new prison for him to whom he meant to give the throne? Besides, this prison had a quite different object. It is not

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just where the Neva flows out of the lake Ladoga, in 59° 50' N. L. It is in the antique form, with high walls and vaulted ramparts, and being used for the confinement of state-prisoners, is only inhabited by the garrison. Schluffel in german signifies a *key*. Its present name was given it by Peter I. as being the key to his new city.

to

to be doubted that it was Catharine for whom it was designed, by her husband\*.

Before he quitted Schlusfelburg, Peter went once more into the prince's dungeon; after this, he returned to St. Petersburg; where no one entertained a suspicion of the extraordinary interview he had just been having, and much less of what he was meditating in favour of Ivan.

When the prince of Holstein, the emperor's uncle, was informed of the visit this monarch had made to Ivan, he advised him to send that unfortunate prince into Germany, together with duke Anthony of Brunswic, his father, and the rest of the family. Peter, to avoid raising any suspicion of his plan in the mind of his uncle, pretended to approve his advice, but for the present he rested satisfied with causing Ivan

\* Though it is currently taken for granted, that it was the emperor's plan to cause his wife to be arrested, and to be shut up in Schlusfelburg, yet it is very far from being satisfactorily made out, even by the evidence arising from this new house erected in the fortress, designed, it is said, for the empress. It is thought by numbers of people, that it was really intended for prince Ivan, instead of the dismal and inconvenient hole in which he was lodged. Peter, by having him removed to Kexholm, brought him more within his reach, in order perhaps to produce him whenever occasion might offer. This may easily be supposed an after-thought,



to be conveyed to the fortress of Kexholm, built on a little isle in the Ladoga lake, and much nearer to the residence than Schlusselfburg. It is impossible on this occasion to forbear remarking, that a sort of adverse fate seemed every where to pursue the unfortunate Ivan; for, as he was rowed from Schlusselfburg, to get on board the galleot that was to convey him to Kexholm, the skiff in which he was narrowly escaped being lost, by one of the tempests that suddenly rise in summer, and dangerously agitate that stormy, and, in many places, unfathomable lake\*.

In the mean time the indiscretions of the tzar revived from day to day the hopes of Catharine; and the designs he had formed against her, a part whereof were but too well known, emboldened

\* To secure the barks coming with goods from the Volkoff across the Ladoga, from the dangerous storms and whirlpools of this boisterous lake, was the view of Peter I. in digging the Ladoga canal; and this design is fully attained. This canal, which Peter began in 1719, and which the empress Anne finished by count Munich in 1730, follows, through a morass, the southern shore of the Ladoga, and, 10 fathom broad, and from 7 to 10 feet deep, extends its course of 104 versts, to Schlusselfburg, where it enters the left bank of the Neva. The Ladoga receives the waters of the rivers Ræbona, Lava, Schaldica, Nafia, and Lipka, to which the only outlet is the Neva.

her to run all hazards in order to prevent them, Dismissed to Peterhoff, and lodged in one of the apartments the most retired, and least apparent of the palace, she passed her days in meditating the project for precipitating her husband from the throne, and her evenings in the company of a peculiar intimate, whom she had made the most intrepid of the conspirators.

The power of the tzars, though absolute and uncontrollable in its exercise, is extremely weak in its foundation. There is not perhaps in Europe a government which depends so much on the good-will and affection of those that are governed, and which requires a greater degree of vigilance and a steadier hand. The regular succession which has been so often broken, and the great change of manners, which in less than a century has been introduced, have left in Russia a weakness amidst all the appearance of strength, and a great facility to sudden and dangerous revolutions.

Peter III. paid little attention to those difficulties, which to him were the greater, as he was a foreigner born. They were augmented by the superior and invidious regard he seemed to pay to foreign interests, and foreign persons.

Since

Since the removal of count Poniatofsky, though the empress had the address to appear, in the eyes of the most attentive of the courtiers, faithful to her attachment to him, yet in the intimacy of this friend she found the means of compensating his absence. Thus, to encourage the mistake of her prying observers, she had the twofold motive of interesting them in behalf of a disappointed passion, and of averting their looks from her obscurer indulgences. Her very friends were deceived. M. de Breteuil, who imagined himself a person of great discernment, and that he was in the entire confidence of Catharine, thought her so constant to Poniatofsky, that he degraded his quality of ambassador so far as to deliver into her hand all the letters from the count, and to forward her answers. Princess Dashkoff herself was ignorant that she had any other love than that of study and of Poniatofsky; and she had long been plotting in concert with Orloff, without once suspecting that Orloff was even known to the empress. In short, the only person that was in the secret, and was the manager of the piece, was one of her women, named Catharine Ivanovna, the most ingenious of confidantes, and the least scrupulous of duennas. She behaved with so much address, that those whom she presented to Catharine enjoyed



enjoyed almost always the favours of that princeess, without knowing who she was\*.

Gregory Orloff possessed neither the advantages of birth nor those of education; but he had received from nature what are often found more useful, courage and beauty. He had a post in the artillery, while his two brothers were only common soldiers in the regiments of guards†. Count Peter Schuvaloff, grand master of the artillery, a vain and pompous man, was desirous of having the handsomest of his officers for aide-de-camp, and he selected Gregory Orloff. He had also for his mistress one of the most illus-

\* M. de Rulhiere tells us it was by chance that "Orloff descried, in the pomp of a public ceremony, the "mistress whom he adored." But it is very difficult to believe that the aide-de-camp of count Peter Schuvaloff should not know the grand duchess, as Peter Schuvaloff went frequently to court, and as in Russia an aide-de-camp always attends his general.

† Alexius and Vladimir. The Orloffs were five brothers: Gregory, the favourite; Alexius, since become admiral, who, in the war against the Turks, in 1768, commanded the Russian fleet in the Archipelago, was latterly at Mosco, led thither on account of some affairs of trade, having large tanneries on his estate, but was driven out of that capital by an order from Paul Petrovitch; Vladimir, made senator after the revolution; Feodor, chamberlain; and Ivan, likewise chamberlain, but who came very rarely to court.

trious

trious and the handsomest women of the court, the princess Kourakin, who was not long in giving the aide-de-camp to understand that she preferred him to his general. But unfortunately the general, who surprised them together, forbade Orloff any more to appear in his presence, and threatened to exert all his interest to get him banished to Siberia. This adventure made a noise; it was for a time the subject of conversation both in town and country; and the story found its way even into the retreat in which Catharine was forced to do penance. Curiosity, pity perhaps, led her to wish for an acquaintance with the young officer whose disaster was the topic of public discourse. Ivanoyna, with the customary precautions, procured her a sight of him; and Orloff, at first unable to guess who the fair-one might be that took such concern in his lot, found her to possess more charms and a sonder affection than the princess Kourakin. This first and mysterious conversation was succeeded by several interviews, in which Catharine was only obliging; but when she thought herself well assured of the boldness and the discretion of her new acquaintance, she unveiled to him her ambitious designs. Orloff now entered into a conspiracy with her, in which he shortly after engaged his brothers, his companion Bibikoff, lieutenant

lieutenant Passik, with other officers; by means of whom he won over some companies of guards, but without imparting to them his real design.

Catharine was as yet but grand duchess when her connection with Orloff began; and her correspondence with him was not the only one that she carried on with no less art than success. Several other officers, several courtiers even participated in her favours; but as she did not expect to find in them the devotedness and the genius that was necessary to her, she was satisfied with making them her friends, and never disclosed her secret to them. Lieutenant-general Villebois\* was one of those whom that princess had distinguished; and when he obtained the command of the artillery, on the death of the general that had displaced Orloff, she induced him to give the latter the place of captain-treasurer of his corps. Villebois did as he was requested by Catharine, without entertaining the smallest suspicion that he was serving a rival preferred to himself.

Being seated on the throne, Catharine continued not less the invisible and powerful instigatrix of the faction of the great, the remainder of those conspirators at the head of whom Bes-

\* An officer of considerable merit, son of a french refugee.



tucheff and the Schuvaloffs had successively appeared, and whereof the hetman Kurilli Razumoffky, the prince Volkonsky, nephew of the exiled Bestucheff, and major-general of the guards, together with count Panin, were the most powerful supports.

In a word, she had been able to form a third conspiracy, contrived by the young princess Dashkoff\*, who always appeared, if not the most formidable, at least the most active and impetuous. The accomplices in these three factions acted, moreover, without the knowledge of each other; and Catharine, who was the animating spirit of them all, seemed to have no share whatever in the plot.

Princess Dashkoff, lately returned from Mosco, where her husband had kept her in a kind of exile, was prevented from concurring with the aims of her relations, who were desirous of seeing her supplant her sister in the favour of the czar. That sister was more suitable to the military taste of Peter; and madame Dashkoff would never be satisfied with a lover addicted only to drinking and the fumes of tobacco. She then formed an intimate connection with Catha-

\* Princess Dashkoff was born in the year 1744; consequently this extraordinary woman was no more than 18 at the time of the revolution.

rine. They passed whole days together in the pursuits of literature and intrigue; and when the empress was dismissed to Peterhoff, princess Dashkoff remained at Petersburg, in order to serve her the better. She kept up a correspondence with the empress, in which she gave her the account of all that was passing at the court or in the city, and the means which she ought to employ for preventing the designs of the czar.

The attachment which princess Dashkoff had vowed to Catharine was not the sole motive for exciting her zeal. She was principally jealous of the glorious elevation that awaited her sister; and neither the menaces of that sister and of her father, nor the authority of the chancellor her uncle, in whose house she had been brought up, were able to detach her from a party of which she fondly made it her pride to be the prime mover. She had studied the languages, and read many of the works of foreign authors, during her sojourn at Mosco; which augmented her natural vanity, and taught her to despise the ignorance of the nation to which she belonged. In the hopes of arriving at the slippery honour of directing a conspiracy, she openly braved the resentment of her family; she would have braved every danger, and even boldly looked death in the face.

Princess

Princess Dashkoff had for some time kept about her a Piedmontese, named Odart, whom penury and a wish to seek his fortune had brought to St. Petersburg, and who had confirmed the taste of that lady for french literature, by making her acquainted with the best writers of that nation. Odart was become the more valuable to the princess, as like her, with an aptitude at witty conceits, he possessed a turn for intrigue. She was ever extolling a man to whom she thought herself indebted for her superiority; and she spoke of him to the empress in so advantageous a manner, as to induce that princess to desire his attachment, and to give him the title of her private secretary.

It was not long ere this artful and insinuating secretary became one of the confidants, not in the delicate connections of Catharine, but in her ambitious designs. A witness to the grievances of this princess, and foreboding the humiliation that awaited her, he easily perceived that there was no other way of escape, both for the present and the future, than by the fall of the emperor. But how to accomplish this fall? How dare to attempt it? Odart saw all the difficulties, all the dangers with which it was attended; but he also knew, that if punishment and death were on one side, honours and riches presented them-



selves on the other. Riches were the only deities of Odart: he was not long in determining his choice. He directly addressed himself to princess Dashkoff; who, anticipating his bold and aspiring ideas, was elated to excess at finding in a man whom she esteemed for his talents, an accomplice in achievements worthy of herself. What flattering hopes now intoxicated the minds of these vain and conceited conspirators! What did they not promise themselves, if they could but overthrow the sovereign of one of the greatest empires of the world? Odart expected an immense fortune would be the reward of his services; the princess imagined that the whole universe would be incessantly talking of her, and that her glory would ascend far superior to her's on whose head she should place the crown.

But the execution of so great a project demanded more efficacious instruments than vain imaginations and barren desires. More was wanting than a woman of eighteen, and an adventurer whom nobody knew. Accordingly, when Odart and madame Dashkoff had sufficiently entertained themselves with the magnificent recompences they hoped to obtain, they began to think of procuring soldiers, and money, which always propagates soldiers, and in Russia  
more

more than elsewhere; and a chief, whose name and authority may command respect; and especially a man who, accustomed to direct courtiers, to manage intrigues, was neither to be embarrassed by obstacles, nor dismayed by disappointments. They then turned their eyes on the hetman Cyril Razumoffsky, and count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin.

The great influence the hetman \* had enjoyed during the reign of the empress Elizabeth, and the familiarity of Peter III. which he had had the art of preserving, still gave him considerable interest at court; and his immense riches, which enabled him to exercise continual liberalities towards a multitude of necessitous officers and soldiers, secured him a great number of friends among the troops. He filled one of the first posts in the empire. He had no esteem for Catharine, of whose talents he did not think much, and whose mistakes he had seen; he knew the danger of attempting to dethrone the tzar, but was true in his adherence to his former party. When princess Dashkoff communicated her designs to the hetman, he applauded the

\* It has been imagined by some, that though the devout Elizabeth had married the grand-veneur Alexey Razumoffsky, brother of the hetman, the latter was nevertheless a lover of that empress.

scheme; and, without seeming to take a direct part in the business, assured her that, in case of need, she might rely upon his concurrence. Therefore when Orloff came to him a few days after, in order to sound his disposition, he encouraged him to oppose the designs which the emperor was meditating against his consort, telling him, at the same time, that they who should defend that princess might depend upon his joining them. The hetman kept Orloff's secret as he had kept madame Dashkoff's; and happy in the contemplation of two new rising factions, he resolved in his mind to support them with all the power of his own.

Razumoffsky went yet farther. He assembled his friends on the spot; and without disclosing to them precisely the twofold plan with which he had been entrusted, informed them that he knew with certainty, that among the troops a plot was hatching to dethrone the czar; and if they neglected for a moment to declare themselves its leaders, no other alternative would be left them than to submit to become the forced instruments of the soldiers, or probably their victims. They then asked him what he thought it necessary for them to do. "Join me at the instant the conspiracy breaks out," answered the hetman; "and I will take care to assign to each of you  
" the



“ the rank to which his birth, his fortune, and  
“ his talents, give him a right to aspire. The  
“ blind intrepidity of some obscure conspirators  
“ is now meditating to make the first blow.  
“ Let us diligently watch the moment. If they  
“ succeed, it is for our dexterity to reap the  
“ fruits of their success. Do you feel yourselves  
“ heartily resolved to follow my example ?”  
All swore they were ; and the meeting broke up  
in expectation of the terrible event that flattered  
either their hatred or their ambition.

Thus certified of the assent of Razumoffky,  
princess Dashkoff and Odart now made it their  
business to bring over count Panin to their  
party ; and Catharine earnestly recommended it  
to them to let nothing escape them that might  
conduce to that end. She very well knew that if  
the name and the presence of the hetman would  
be of great weight in the first openings of the  
revolt, the experience and the ability of Panin  
were still more necessary for leading it to success.  
It was he alone who, by the arts of soft insinua-  
tion, could moderate the impetuous vanity of  
the princess Dashkoff, excite, inflame the hatred  
and revenge of Razumoffky, direct the covetous  
and servile ambition of Odart, and justify in  
appearance the conspiracy by annexing to it the  
name of the young Paul Petrovitch, his pupil.

Princess Dashkoff then commissioned Odart to propose to Panin his uniting with them; and Panin, prompted by a motive more dear than that of serving the empress and the grand duke, promised all that the princess desired.

All this did not yet suffice madame Dashkoff. She made direct application to prince Volkonsky, major-general of the guards. Volkonsky, well-taught in the arts of intrigue by his kinsman Bestucheff, and the inheritor of his hatred against Peter III.; Volkonsky, whose ambition was waiting for a change in the government, and who flattered himself with having shortly to act the principal part in the new faction, was not more difficult than Panin and Razumoffsky.

The archbishop of Novgorod was in like manner brought over. They had made themselves sure of this prelate even before they disclosed their design. The emperor had just recalled him from exile, to which he had some months before been condemned; but the prelate, more irritated at the severity of the prince than affected by his clemency, waited only for an opportunity for signalizing his sacred fury. Inventive superstition furnished him with numerous means. He knew the blind zeal of the Russians for whatever belongs to the orthodox  
greek

greek religion ; and the swarms of monks whom he had at command continued, under pretence of defending that religion, to disseminate in all hearts their hatred towards a prince who imprudently seemed to have declared himself its enemy.

The princess wanted also to secure a part of the troops. She knew several of the officers ; these she went to see under pretence of a mere visit of politeness, and repaired to the barracks. There she was met by Orloff. The explanation was not difficult to either. They immediately agreed ; and without suspecting that Orloff was known to Catharine, the princess Dashkoff found in him more than an accomplice.

Having apparently gained over only Gregory Orloff, the princess Dashkoff flattered herself that she had also won, by his means, the two brothers of that conspirator, in person not less handsome, in temper not less bold than he, and of a bodily strength and a brutality that rendered them formidable even to their friends. She added at the same time to her party many other officers or soldiers, whom Orloff had long been preparing for the rebellion ; and when Odart thought to make the empress acquainted with all this success, that dissembling princess, whose lover brought her accounts of all in their nocturnal interviews, was careful neither to deceive



ceive the secretary, nor affront the vanity of madame Dashkoff.

One alone of all the factious stood in no need of artful prepossession: it was that very Gleboff whom the tzar had raised from the lowest forms of chicane to the important place of procureur-general to the senate\*. The traitor, judging that his master would prove unable to resist the united attacks of such a host of foes as were plotting his destruction, and adding cruelty to ingratitude, resolved to contribute what he could to his ruin, in order to profit by the change it would produce. He accordingly looked about for a band of conspirators with whom he might join; and having discovered that of Odart and princess Dashkoff, he went to them with the offer of his services.

The aim of all those who severally conspired against Peter III. was to dethrone him; but they were not disposed to set about it in the same manner. Panin, Razumoffsky, Orloff, thought it best to begin by seizing on his person at Peterhoff†, at the conclusion of one of those orgies

\* When, on his accession to the throne, this prince demanded the resignation of prince Schafuskoï.

† The imperial palace of Peterhoff, situate on the shore of the Cronstadt gulf, is 25 versts from St. Petersburg, 8 versts

orgies which could not fail to take place on his coming thither to celebrate the anniversary of St. Peter and St. Paul. Panin, with some others of the conspirators, had even been to gain an accurate knowledge of his apartment, in order the more easily to seize him on the fittest occasion. Lieutenant Passick, the most ferocious, the most barbarous of his countrymen, insisted on assassinating him with a poignard in the midst of his court: and in spite of all that

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8 versts below Strelna, and 8 versts above Oranienbaum. Peter the great employed the architect Le Blond to build it, and to direct the laying out of the gardens; and its decorations have been increased by all the succeeding monarchs. Here annually a grand festival is given in honour of the patron saints of the imperial house, Peter and Paul. It consists in masquerades, to which from 3000 to 4000 persons of both sexes repair from Petersburg, so that there is scarcely a horse left in the town. At night the palace, with all the gardens, walks, terraces, canals, cascades, and fountains, as well as the yachts that lie off the shore, are all grandly illuminated; which, especially the vast cascade, rolling its sheets of water over the lamps, have a surprisingly brilliant effect. In some of the apartments are refreshments of every kind, accessible to all. About ten in the evening long tables are set out with a variety of choice dishes in great abundance, at which as many as can find room promiscuously take their places, and are sumptuously entertained; as each is satisfied, he retires, and others succeed; for which purpose the tables are constantly renewing, in an uninterrupted succession of dishes.

Panin

Panin could do, by intreating and forbidding, he went, with one of his comrades, named Baschkakoff, to lie in ambush two days successively, waiting for this prince on one side of the small wooden house inhabited by Peter while he was laying the foundations of Petersburg: these two days Peter III. did not appear. But if the conspirators differed about the means of dethroning the tzar, they were still less agreed on the manner of supplying his place. Catharine aspired to the sole possession of the supreme authority. Orloff and princess Dashkoff supported this pretension. Panin, on the other hand, proposed, that she should govern only under the name of regent; and that the title of emperor should devolve on the young grand duke, Paul Petrovitch. The hetman Razumoffsky was of the same opinion.

At a long conference held by the principal conspirators, in which these several proposals were discussed, Panin had the courage to say to Catharine:—" I know, madam, what you  
" would have, and what you are able to do;  
" but I know also where your ambition should  
" stop. You have repeated it a hundred times,  
" while as yet grand duchess, that you were only  
" desirous of the title of mother of the emperor.  
" Does that title at present seem too diminutive  
" to



“ to you? You would now remove your son  
“ from the throne of Russia; but what right  
“ have you to seat yourself upon it alone? Are  
“ you of the blood of the tzars? Are you even  
“ a native of the empire? Think you that this  
“ ancient and warlike nation will acknowledge  
“ for their sovereign a countess of Anhalt?  
“ Think you that they will not be incessantly  
“ plotting in favour of the descendants of Peter  
“ the great, while one of them lies languishing  
“ at the foot of the throne, and others continue  
“ to groan in dark and loathsome dungeons?  
“ Ah, madam, give up your pretensions to what  
“ you can never obtain. Think it your greatest  
“ happiness to be able to escape the extreme  
“ danger that presses upon you; and that the  
“ only means of justifying our violent under-  
“ taking, is to convince the world that your  
“ son is, more than yourself, the object of your  
“ concern.”

The conspirators, struck with the firmness and propriety of this discourse, for a time remained mute. Orloff shuddered. Catharine herself kept a momentary silence. At length, turning to Panin:—“ Count,” said she, “ your arguments are full of force; but they are not sufficient to produce any alteration in my sentiments. I know the Russians, and you your-  
“ self

“ self are so well acquainted with them as to  
“ know, that, provided they are governed, they  
“ care but little about the origin of them by  
“ whom the government is administered. This  
“ nation knows of nothing but obedience, even  
“ when the hand that rules it leans heavily on it.  
“ Mentchikoff, Biren, Munich, may serve as  
“ proofs of this truth. But it is not thus that I  
“ design to reign: far from it; I shall act with  
“ lenity, with justice, and in such manner as not  
“ to give the slightest pretext to discontent.  
“ But you, who tell me of murmurs and rebel-  
“ lions, do you forget that it is mostly under  
“ regencies that rebellions break out? Nay,  
“ should we ever have had a thought of that we  
“ have now been contriving, if Peter III. were  
“ capable of guiding with firmness the reins of  
“ government? You are alarmed for my son;  
“ but had you rather abandon him to the fantastic  
“ humours of a father, by whom he is already  
“ disowned, than trust his fortune to a mother  
“ who loves him? and, if I aspire to the supreme  
“ command, is it not for the welfare of that  
“ child? is it not that I may be the better able  
“ to recompense those who, like you, assist me  
“ to defend him? Doubtless, they may all rely  
“ on my everlasting gratitude; but in order to  
“ prove it to my heart's content, I must have  
“ the

“ the power ; and that power is what I expect  
“ from you.”

Panin was not in the least shaken ; opinions were divided, and the conspirators came to no fixed determination.

It was easy to perceive that Panin only wished to set his pupil on the throne, in the hope of occupying himself the second place in the empire, and to govern in his name. Catharine had too much discernment not to have discovered this motive long before ; accordingly she had given private assurances to Panin that she would appoint him prime minister ; taking care, however, not to confirm this promise in presence of the other conspirators, for fear of offending the ambition of any of the party.

Princess Dashkoff, Orloff, Odart, those who wanted to bestow the supreme power on Catharine, vied with each other in seeking some means for inducing count Panin to alter his mind ; but it was long to no purpose, and they would certainly not have been able to succeed, if a passion less terrible, but more powerful, had not come into conflict with ambition. Love had already enlisted in the service of Catharine the boldest and most intrepid of her conspirators : love granted another lady the boon of subduing him,



him, whose stubborn mind was not to be moved by majesty itself.

The necessity into which the plot had led Panin of conversing frequently with the princess Dashkoff; the wit, the vivacity, the petulance of this young woman; her whole character, in short, inspired him with a lively tenderness for her. He was not long in making her an open declaration of his passion: she received it with coldness, and afforded him no hope of success.

It was not however virtue in madame Dashkoff, that impelled her to reject the professions of Panin. Many other known suitors had already experienced that it was not invincible. But the age, the heavy air of Panin, his equivocal reputation in his attachments; and, above all, the deep and lively sentiment she had vowed to another, prevented her from yielding to the persuasions of the preceptor, who, dumb from that moment on the subject of his passion, seemed to take pleasure in contradicting the author of its disappointment.

The subtle and vigilant Odart alone discovered the secret motive of Panin's resistance, and immediately promised to overcome it. He hastened to the princess; and, after having heard her confirm what he had only suspected, conversed

with her in all the familiarity of a zealous confidant and an accomplice, who was daily in concert with her, braving exile and death. Exempt from all prejudices, or rather incapable of an esteem for virtue, Odart had the effrontery to ridicule that which seemed to be a check on princess Dashkoff. Then, putting on a graver look, he represented to her that if she thought it a fault to yield to the solicitations of Panin, that fault would be ennobled by the motive that impelled her to commit it. He reminded her of the union of sentiment that attached her to the empress; and, friendship being the principal virtue, no sacrifice should seem too dear, when we were called to the service of a friend; and concluded with representing to her, that it would be the triumph of heroism to brave the disgrace of making her charms subservient to her ambition. The princess Dashkoff, whose romantic imagination was easily elevated, gave implicit credit to all that was told her by Odart, consented to whatever Panin proposed, and Catharine had no more obstacles to apprehend on the part of the count\*.

The

\* It is but justice to observe in this place, that many persons who attended successively the courts of Elizabeth, Peter III. and the late empress, have uniformly affirmed,

The conspirators therefore being brought to agreement, thought no longer of any thing but of putting their plan in execution. Of chiefs there was no want; but soldiers were to be obtained. The first thing to be done was to gain over those of the guards, as well for depriving the emperor of their defence, as for a support to the cause. The Orloffs, Bibikoff, and Passick had already seduced three companies of the regiment of Ismaïloff; but this number was not sufficient, and it was only by money that they could hope to corrupt others. The empress had it not in her power to furnish any, as she had scarcely wherewith to defray the daily expences of her household. She therefore, in concert with princess Dashkoff, commissioned Odart to make application to M. de Breteuil for a supply. That minister, long the confidant and the dupe of the empress, was preparing to quit Petersburg. He was not ignorant that a conspiracy was on foot, but he knew neither the

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that, of all the imputations thrown out on princess Dashkoff concerning certain peculiarities in her disposition and temper, they never once heard the slightest suspicion cast on her chastity: and to her friends it has always been her boast, that, though a widow at the age of 18, the most malignant of her enemies had nothing to accuse her of in this respect.

springs



springs that were to set it in motion, nor the means by which it was to be conducted: he was doubtful of its success; and, when Odart informed him that Catharine was desirous that the king of France would lend her 60,000 rubles, he hesitated to advance that trifling sum. Fearing however to mortify the self-love of the empress by a formal refusal, as well as to give too much credit to the assertions of Odart, whom he regarded in no other light than as a presumptuous adventurer, he told him that he might assure her majesty that the king his master would esteem it a pleasure to afford her, on that occasion, a proof of his attachment, and that he would without delay communicate to him what she desired. At the same time he drew up the form of a note which he put into the hands of Odart, that she might write it in her own hand, and return it to him. The note was conceived in these terms:

“ J’ai chargé le porteur du présent billet de  
“ vous faire mes adieux, et de vous prier de me  
“ faire quelque petite commission, que je vous  
“ prie de m’envoyer le plutôt possible\*.”

\* What a specimen of M. de Breteuil’s style!—“ I have  
“ commissioned the bearer of the present note to bid  
“ you farewell in my name, and to request you to give me  
“ some small commission, which I beg you to send me as  
“ soon as possible.”

The Piedmontese, thinking that the empress would not have any scruple to write this note, promised it to M. de Breteuil. But that princess, sensibly hurt at the distrust shewn by the french minister, the delays he put in practice, and the state of dependence in which he wanted to place her on a court she detested, vouchsafed not even to give him an answer; and M. de Breteuil, having waited some days without any appearance of Odart, set out from Russia and proceeded to Vienna, where he received, by Versailles, the news of the success of the conspiracy, and the order to return to St. Petersburg\*.

On the pressure of the emergency, Catharine had consented to borrow of M. de Breteuil; but afterwards, willing to shew him that she could dispense with his assistance, she seized the instant of his departure to send him a note, which Odart privately delivered to Berenger, the chargé d'affaires, and contained the following words: "L'emplette que nous devons faire, se fera sûrement bientôt, mais à beaucoup

\* This is exactly the manner in which M. de Breteuil was of service to the conspiracy; and yet it is well known how fond he was of boasting in France how greatly he had forwarded it.

“ meilleur marché: ainsi nous n'avons pas besoin  
“ d'autres fonds\*.”

However, Catharine was at this moment in the most tremendous situation. The dread of seeing her schemes betrayed, the greater apprehension of being arrested, dethroned, shut up for ever, all circumstances considered, filled her with the most piercing disquietude.

Peter all this while seemed only intent upon pleasure; yet in reality he was not inattentive to the condition of the unhappy Ivan, and to his military preparations.

After having lodged this prince at Kexholm, he caused him to be secretly conducted to Petersburg, where he was put in a house of no conspicuous figure; in which he visited him during the night, accompanied by Gudovitch and Volkoff.

The fleet he had destined to act against Denmark being completely equipped, one division remained yet at Cronstadt, while the other lay waiting for it at Revel. The regiments that were to follow in this expedition were already in Pomerania, and others were on the march to join them. In a word, he was ready to put

\* “ The purchase we intended to make will certainly  
“ be made soon, but at a much cheaper rate: therefore we  
“ have no need of other supplies.”



himself at the head of his army for the invasion of Holstein. What seemed to flatter him most in this conquest was the being capacitated thereby to pay his respects to him whom he styled his friend, his brother, and his model, the king of Prussia. In the expectation of this happiness, he treated the envoy of that monarch with such distinctions and even adulations as Frederic himself would never have endured: but this envoy\* was young, and perhaps vaunted too much of the marks of deference shewn him by the emperor. Peter had at length fixed his departure for the day following the festival of Peter and Paul†, which he was, as usual, to celebrate

\* It was baron Goltz, who was afterwards minister in France from Prussia, and died at Bâle in 1794. It has been said, that while Goltz has been shut up for hours together with young women of the court, the tzar, with a firelock on his shoulder, stood sentry at the door, as a common soldier. But who does not see that this must be a story invented by the calumniators of that unfortunate prince?

† To make it believed that the tzar was completely stupid, the report has been studiously propagated, that when he was heated by wine and punch, he never failed to talk of schemes of conquest, and to give himself up to the transports of an extravagant ambition. Two days before the revolution that hurled him from the throne, he held, it is said, the following discourse: "Of what use are all those petty sovereigns of Europe? What are they? I am resolved

celebrate at Peterhoff, and at the end of which he purposed to cause the empress to be arrested. But the empress was taking measures effectually to prevent his design. Her party was waiting only for the moment of action\*. That moment was accelerated by chance.

They who plan a conspiracy have always more zeal, more vigilance and activity, than he against whom it is directed. Accordingly the friends of Catharine were carefully informed of all that passed about the tzar, while he was ignorant of all their

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“solved that, in future, there shall be but three powers in this part of the world: Russia, Prussia, and France. I will have all the North, the king of Prussia shall have all Germany, and the king of France the rest.”—“But,” observed one of his courtiers, “what does your majesty think of putting France into your division?”—“Oh! yes,” replied the tzar; “France is likewise a great power!” It is much to be doubted that, however intoxicated Peter might be, he ever intended to make such a partition of Europe.

\* Catharine’s party consisted of the hetman Razumoffsky, the preceptor of the grand duke, count Panin, the master of artillery Villebois, general Volkonskoï, the brothers Orloff, the princess Dashkoff, (to whom the empress was as strongly attached, as the emperor was to her sister Elizabeth Vorontzoff,) &c. With Peter was count Munich, who would alone perhaps have outweighed all the others, if the emperor had but resolved to follow the counsels of this experienced veteran.

proceedings. Expecting, in indolent security, the festivities of Peterhoff, his majesty was gone to pass some days at his country palace of Oranienbaum \*, whither he had taken with him some of the handsomest women of the court. On this occasion a report was spread, that he wanted to demand divorces for these women, that he might marry them to some of his courtiers. It was even added, that beds had been ordered for these pretended nuptials; and shame, contempt, and

\* The palace of Oranienbaum was built by prince Mentchikoff, in 1727, as his country residence; on whose fall it reverted to the crown. It stands on the coast of the gulf of Finland in  $59^{\circ} 52'$ , N. L. 40 versts from St. Petersburg, 8 from Peterhoff, and 7 from the island of Cronstadt. The palace is situated, like that of Peterhoff, on a rise about 15 fathom above the level of the sea, formed into terraces; by means whereof it has a beautiful prospect of the gulf, of Cronstadt, and the ships, galleots, &c. continually passing in the summer season. The palace is not large, consists of a central building of two stories, crowned with a turret, and two wings, each connected with it by a colonnade. To walk on the top of these colonnades for enjoying the pure air and the fine prospect is extremely agreeable. One of the wings is a chapel; and some of the apartments are very richly fitted up, one with all kinds of costly porcelaine, another lacquered in the chinese taste, black and gold, &c. Within these few years the late empress Catharine II. gave it for the use of the noble sea-cadet corps. It has spacious gardens belonging to it.

jealousy



jealousy created him new enemies, and procured as many partisans to Catharine.

The conspirators, who at first had agreed to seize and carry off the tzar on his appearance again at St. Petersburg, thought, in consequence of a new deliberation, that it would be too dangerous to wait so long, and that it would be better to execute their design on his coming to Peterhoff.

The plan was well concerted: each of the conspirators was reckoning on his own courage and the fidelity of his friends, when all at once their plot was discovered. This discovery, however, was not the effect of chance; and, by a strange caprice of fortune, the very accident which, by its natural effect, ought to have disconcerted the traitors, emboldened them; and their precipitancy secured their success.

By an excess of diffidence or precaution, princess Dashkoff and Odart had set a trusty person to watch the steps of each of the chiefs of the conspiracy, who regularly brought them an exact account of whatever these chiefs might be likely to do; in such manner, that if there had been the least tendency towards treachery among them, they would have detected it instantaneously, and have taken measures for their security or their vengeance.

Paffick

Paffick had gained the soldiers of the company of the guards in which he was lieutenant. One of these soldiers, imagining that Paffick did nothing but in concurrence with his captain, asked the captain on what day they were to take up arms against the emperor. The captain, surprised, had recourse to dissimulation; and answering the questions of the soldier in vague and indistinct terms, drew out of him the secret of the conspiracy, and went, without delay, to make report of it to the chancery of the regiment.

It was nine o'clock at night. Paffick was put under arrest: but at first he was shoved into a room, where he had time to write with a pencil on a scrap of paper, "Proceed to execution this instant, or we are undone." The man who watched his motions presented himself at the door. Paffick, not knowing him, but seeing that every thing was to be risked, gives him the billet, telling him that if he runs with it in all speed to the hetman Razumoffsky, he will be handsomely rewarded. The spy hurried to the princess Dashkoff, and put the billet into her hand. Panin happened that moment to come in. She proposed to hasten the execution of their project, observing that the only means of saving themselves from the vengeance of the czar was to prevent it; and that, however weak he

he might be, if time were allowed him to put himself on his defence, it would be impossible to get the better of him. But whether or not Panin thought really that the enterprize could not succeed, whether his capacity was not sufficiently seconded by courage, for beginning to act, he refused to submit to the reasons of princess Dashkoff; and after having told her that it would be better to wait till the next day, to know what was fittest to be done, he withdrew.

In the mean time, the emissaries of princess Dashkoff had already taken care to give intelligence to the other conspirators. On Panin's departure, she put on man's apparel, and went to join Orloff and his friends on the green bridge, where she was in the habit of seeing them, that she might avoid raising suspicion by getting to her too many subaltern officers and soldiers\*.

\* Besides the noble and beautiful river Neva, with its three bridges of ~~boats~~ ingeniously removed and replaced twice every year, and besides the canals with their elegant quays and magnificent stone bridges, there is yet another river, passing through the city, the Moika, the numerous drawbridges over which are still of wood, and these are denominated according to the colour with which they are painted, the red bridge, the blue bridge, the green bridge, &c.

These



These conspirators were neither less uneasy than princess Dashkoff, nor less impatient for hastening the execution of their plot. The delay till the morrow appeared to them to be big with consequences the most to be dreaded; and it certainly would have been fatal. The time of acting was the silence of the night, without allowing the tzar time to form an inclination to prevent them, nor the troops and the people time to arm for the defence of the tzar. The resolution was unanimous. While Gregory Orloff, one of his brothers, and his friend Bibikoff, repaired to the barracks for the purpose of preparing the soldiers of their party to act on the first signal, another brother of Orloff, Alexius, took upon him the perilous commission of going to find out the empress at Peterhoff.

Under pretext of leaving the apartments free for the festival that was to be celebrated at the palace, and for enabling herself, in reality, to be more in readiness to escape, Catharine was lodged in a remote summer-house, at the foot whereof runs a canal that communicates with the Neva; and where she had caused to be fastened, as if without design, a small boat, that it might occasionally be of service in the secret visits of her favourites, and to facilitate her own escape  
into

into Sweden, if the conspiracy should be discovered. Gregory Orloff having given his brother a key to this summer-house, instructed him in the methods he must employ for getting thither; and princefs Dashkoff trusted him with a short note, to engage the empress to come to them without loss of time.

It was now two o'clock in the morning. The empress, not expecting any body, had retired to rest, and lay in a profound sleep, when she perceived herself suddenly roused, and saw standing at the side of her bed a soldier whom she knew nothing of. Without delivering her the note from princefs Dashkoff, the soldier said to Catharine:—"Your majesty has not a moment to lose; get ready to follow me:" and immediately disappeared.

Catharine, astonished, terrified, called Ivanovna. They dressed themselves in haste, and disguised themselves in such manner that they could not be known by the sentinels about the palace. Scarcely were they ready, when the soldier returned, and told the empress that a carriage was waiting for them at the garden-gate. It was a coach which, under pretext of having change of horses for an excursion into the country, princefs Dashkoff had kept for several days in readiness at a house inhabited by one of her  
3  
peasants

*Had she no guard?*

peasants a few miles from Peterhoff, and which Alexèy Orloff had sent one of his comrades to fetch.

The empress reached the carriage without difficulty. She got into it. Alexèy Orloff took the reins, and set off at full speed. Suddenly the horses, being over-driven, stopped short, and fell down. They were obliged to get out. Alexèy Orloff and his companion employed every effort to cheer the horses, but in vain. The distance from Petersburg was still considerable, in the midst of the night, in the greatest confusion, and the danger was every moment becoming more imminent: they resolved to proceed the rest of the way on foot. They had not gone far, when by good luck they met a light country cart. Alexèy Orloff seized hold of the horses, the empress got in, and they set off again as before. They presently heard the sound of another carriage coming after them with unusual rapidity. It was Gregory Orloff, who, calculating the moments, was alarmed at not yet seeing the empress. Immediately knowing her, he cried out, that they only waited for her; and without staying for her answer, drove on before to receive her at Petersburg. At length Catharine, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, but sufficiently mistress of herself



herself to assume a sedate and tranquil air, arrived in the city at seven in the morning \*.

She proceeded directly to the quarter of the Ismailoffsky guards, of which three companies had been already won over; but the conspirators would not permit them to leave the barracks till Catharine appeared, for fear of failing in their aim by too great precipitancy. At the report of the arrival of her majesty, about thirty of the soldiers, half dressed, ran out to receive her with clamorous shouts of joy. Surprised and alarmed at seeing so small a number of soldiers, she kept silence for a moment, and then told them, in a tremulous voice, "that her danger had  
" driven her to the necessity of coming to ask  
" their assistance; that the tzar had intended to  
" put her to death that very night, together with  
" her son; that she had no other means than by  
" flight of escaping death; and that she had so  
" much confidence in their dispositions as to put  
" herself entirely in their hands."

All who heard her shuddered with indignation, and swore to die in her defence. Their example, and the hetman Razumoffsky their colonel, who was not long ere he appeared, soon collected other soldiers, led by curiosity, in great numbers about the empress, who with one

\* The 9th of July 1762.

consent declared her sovereign. The chaplain of the regiment of Ismaïloff was immediately called, who, fetching a crucifix from the altar, received on it the oath of the troops. Some voices were heard in this tumultuous concourse, proclaiming Catharine regent; but these sounds were presently stifled by the threats of Orloff and the more numerous cries of "Long live the empress!"

The Simeonofsky and the Préobaginsky\* guards had already imitated those of Ismaïloff. The officers, with the utmost docility, put themselves at the head of their companies, as though they had been engaged in the plot. Two alone, of the regiment of Préobaginsky, had the boldness to counteract their soldiers; but they were suddenly arrested; and among those who had been gained over, there were only wanting the major Tschapeloff and the lieutenant Poushkin, whom the empress had sent orders to have put under arrest, observing with coldness that she had no further occasion for them.

While the hetman Razumoffsky, prince Volkonsky, counts Bruce and Stroganoff, seve-

\* Of the Ascension. It was the regiment of Préobaginsky that placed Elizabeth on the throne. Elizabeth, as a grateful return, conferred nobility on all the grenadiers of that corps.

ral other general officers, and princess Dashkoff, remained about Catharine, and she was completely securing the three regiments of guards, Gregory Orloff ran to the regiment of artillery, to draw it into the revolt, and march it to the empress. But though he was treasurer of that corps, and well enough beloved of the soldiers, they unanimously refused to follow him, and insisted on seeing the orders of their general Villebois. That officer for some time seemed to be favourably regarded by Catharine, and thought that he was so still; but as she discerned in him a probity too austere to allow her to hope that he would take part in the conspiracy, she had never ventured to disclose it to him; and when one of the friends of Orloff appeared, and told him that her majesty commanded him to come and join her at the barracks of the guards at the head of his regiment, he asked whether the emperor was dead. The friend of Orloff, without answering his question, repeated the order; and Villebois, in utter astonishment, went alone to the empress.

Villebois, seeing Catharine surrounded by an immense crowd of people, found no difficulty in divining what it was she expected of him; but, still withheld by the fidelity he had sworn to the emperor, or by the danger to which he thought



her majesty was exposing herself, he presumed to speak to her of the obstacles which yet remained for her to surmount; and added, that she ought to have foreseen them. She haughtily interrupted him; and replied, "that she had not sent for him to ask him what she ought to have foreseen, but to know how he intended to act."

"To obey your majesty," returned Villebois in confusion; and went to put himself at the head of his regiment, and to deliver the arsenals to the friends of Catharine.

So many advantages cost the empress no more than two hours. She saw herself already surrounded by 2000 warriors, and a great part of the inhabitants of Petersburg, who mechanically followed the motions of the soldiers, and were eager to applaud them.

The hetman Razumoffsky advised her then to repair to the church of Kasan, where every thing was prepared for her reception. She accordingly set out, attended by her numerous suite. The windows and doors of all the houses were filled with spectators, who mingled their acclamations with the shouts of the soldiers. The archbishop of Novgorod, who, apparelled in his sacerdotal robes, and accompanied by a great number of priests, whose long beards and hoary

hoary heads gave them a venerable appearance, stood at the altar to receive her, set the imperial crown on her head, proclaimed her in a loud voice sovereign of all the Russias, by the name of Catharine the Second; and declared, at the same time, the young grand duke Paul Petrovitch her successor. A Te Deum was then chanted, accompanied with the shouts of the multitude.

This ceremony being over, the empress repaired to the palace that had been occupied by Elizabeth. The gates were thrown open indiscriminately to all comers. During several hours the crowd flocked thither, falling on their knees before her, and taking the oath of allegiance.

In the mean time the conspirators were unwearied in their visits to the several quarters of the town, to put them in a state of defence; every where stationing a guard, and placing cannons with match lighted, without meeting any impediment or interruption. Prince George of Holstein, uncle to the emperor, dared to venture out, followed by a few faithful soldiers; but he was surrounded, forced to surrender, loaded with insults, roughly handled, and dragged to prison, from whence the empress delivered him after some hours, in order to put him under arrest in his own house.

Not only no resistance was opposed to the partisans of Catharine, but none of the friends of the tzar once thought of informing him of what was passing at Petersburg. One man alone, a foreigner, named Bressan \*, who owed his fortune to that prince, had the resolution to instance his gratitude and fidelity. He caused a domestic to put on the habit of a countryman, and gave him a written paper, with orders to deliver it only into the hands of the emperor. The servant happened to pass just as the conspirators were placing a guard on the Kalinka bridge over the Fontanka, which must be crossed for going out of the city on that side, and made the best of his way to Oranienbaum; but, on his reaching the palace, he found that the tzar was not there, and was obliged to go in quest of him to Peterhoff.

All circumstances seemed to concur to favour the plot. On the Peterhoff road, and at some distance from Petersburg, a regiment of 1600 men was encamped, among whom no sort of intelligence had been practised; and it was much to be apprehended that, on the very first tidings of the revolt, the tzar would order them to break

\* He came into the country as a barber and peruke-maker, being born in the state of Monaco, and was a naturalized Frenchman.



up the camp, and join his holstein troops. No sooner were measures set on foot to prevent this catastrophe, than colonel Olsufieff, who commanded that regiment, and had heard some confused reports of what was going forward in town, made his appearance for gaining further information. The conspirators got about him, talked to him with enthusiasm, persuaded him by arguments adapted to the purpose; and Olsufieff presently returned to surrender his regiment to Catharine. At the very moment that he was haranguing his men, an order from Peter arrived for the regiment to march immediately to him. The soldiers, perplexed and confounded, unanimously cried out, that they did not acknowledge him for emperor, and directly began their march to go and augment the forces of the conspiracy.

Before the end of the day, Catharine had already 15,000 men of picked troops. The city was in a formidable state of defence. Strict order prevailed there; and by the greatest good fortune, not one drop of blood was shed.

What principally tended to the service of that princess, was the interest and concern that her partisans inspired into all men for her, by propagating on all sides, that the tzar had destined this very day to put her to death with her son.

The atrocious falsehood was believed without examination; and success was the reward of the calumny.

When the empress was at the palace, she sent, without delay, for her son Paul Petrovitch. A detachment, at the head of which marched a trusty officer, went to bring him; and that young prince, who had been often told of the designs of the czar against him, on his waking in the midst of the soldiers, was seized with an alarming fright. Panin took him in his arms, and brought him to his mother. Catharine then led him into the balcony of the palace, holding him up to shew him to the people, whose acclamations redoubled at the sight of the child, thinking that in him they beheld the new emperor.

A report all at once got up, that Peter III. was no more, and that the procession with his corpse was now going by. A profound silence then took place of the cries of the multitude. Several soldiers in long black cloaks, with torches in their hands, walked on each side of a large coffin covered with a pall, and preceded by a number of priests, chanting their litanies as the procession moved along; while the crowd respectfully fell back on both sides, to make room for it to pass. But afterwards it was not doubted that

that this was an additional stratagem invented by the conspirators for deceiving the people, and for intimidating the partisans of the tzar.

The principal nobles, who, for the most part, had taken no share in this conspiracy, and who first learned the success of it at their rising in the morning, resorted immediately to the palace; where, forced to disguise their astonishment and vexation, they united their homages and their oaths of fidelity to those which the multitude had just been taking to Catharine.

The heads of the conspiracy, collected round that princess, now held a council, resolved to profit by the dispositions of the army, and to march in all haste directly to the emperor: but, in the mean time, for putting the empress in security from all attack by sea, or rather in order to quiet the soldiers, who imagined that she was liable every moment to be surprised and assassinated, they conducted her from the palace of Elizabeth, into an old palace built of timber, facing a large open place, and which they surrounded by troops.

Towards noon her majesty, entirely sure of St. Petersburg, caused a manifesto, which Odart had secretly caused to be printed a few days before, to be distributed throughout the city, which we have inserted in the Appendix, No. IV.



This publication being made, the empress caused a notification to be delivered to the foreign ministers on the day when they were to be admitted to pay their court, and present their compliments of congratulation on the event.

While these things were transacting, the empress, decorated with the insignia of the order of St. Andrew, and habited in the uniform of the guards, which she had borrowed for the occasion of a very young officer, named Taliezin, mounted on horseback, and rode through the ranks with princess Dashkoff, who was also in uniform. It was then that the young Potemkin \*, ensign of the regiment of horse-guards, perceiving that Catharine had no plume in her hat, rode up to offer her his. The horse on which Potemkin was mounted, being accustomed to form into the squadron, was some time before he could be brought to quit the side of that of her majesty, thereby affording her an opportunity of remarking for the first time the grace and agility of him who, in the sequel, gained such an ascendant over her.

The troops, being incessantly supplied with beer and brandy, incessantly likewise expressed their satisfaction by reiterated vociferations of

\* He was then only sixteen,

*bourra!*

*bourra!* and by tossing up their hats and caps; but a regiment of cavalry, of which Peter III. had been colonel while yet only grand duke, and which he had incorporated with the guards on his accession to the throne, took no participation in this tumultuous joy. The officers, having all refused obedience to Catharine, were under arrest, and replaced by the officers of other regiments; and the soldiers, by the sullen silence they observed, formed a striking contrast with the furious noise and gesticulations of the rest.

But the party was too strong to have any thing to fear from this regiment; and they began now to march the troops from the city, to proceed against the tzar. Her majesty sat down to dinner near an open window, in full view of the soldiers and the multitudes whom curiosity had assembled in the ample place before the palace.

Peter III. had yet no suspicion of what was passing. His security was even so great, that he had that morning caused a faithful officer to be arrested, who the evening before, having had some intimations of the conspiracy, had hastened in the night to Oranienbaum, thinking it his duty to inform him of it. Peter afterwards set out in a calash, with his mistress, his favourites, and the women of his court, for Peterhoff, to be present at the grand festivities of the following day.

day. The tzar's carriage was attended by several others; and this numerous train proceeded in a swift pace, the several companies within gaily entertaining themselves with the pleasures they expected, when Gudovitch, the general aide-de-camp, who had galloped on before, was perceived returning at full speed. Gudovitch had met on the road one of the chamberlains of the empress\*, coming on foot to his master to inform him of Catharine's escape, and the uneasiness and perplexity that, in consequence of it, filled the whole palace of Peterhoff. At this unexpected news, Gudovitch turned back, and, as he approached the tzar's carriage, called out to the driver to stop. Peter, surprised, and even rather angry, not knowing what could cause his aide-de-camp to ride back with so much speed, asked him if he was mad. Gudovitch came close to the carriage, and whispered some words in his ear. Peter now turned pale, and, strongly agitated, got out of the carriage, and went aside with Gudovitch, in order to interrogate him more at his ease. Then returning to the carriage, and having desired the ladies to come out, he shewed them a gate of the park, through which he bade them join him at the front of the palace, regained the carriage with

\* His name was Ismailoff.



some of his courtiers, and departed with the greatest expedition.

On coming to Peterhoff, the emperor ran to the pavilion that had been occupied by Catharine; and in his confusion, in his extreme concern, he looked about for her, as if she might have been concealed under the bed, or in one of the cupboards. He overwhelmed all he met with questions; but nobody could give him any satisfaction. Those of greater penetration than the rest already foresaw the whole extent of his misfortune, but were silent, that they might not increase his affright. Countess Vorontzoff, his mistress, and the other women who were now coming up the walks of the garden, were still entirely ignorant of what it could be that had forced the czar to quit them in the midst of the road. As soon as Peter perceived the countess, he called to her: "Romanovna, will you believe me now? Catharine has made her escape. I told you that she was capable of any thing!"

In the mean time some boors who were returning from St. Petersburg, related to a group of valets whom they saw standing about the palace, what they knew of the insurrection that had happened, and these valets talked of it among themselves in whispers, but neither spoke  
of

of it to their master nor to any of the courtiers. A gloomy suspicion already prevailed around the unhappy emperor. It seemed as if a fatal presentiment had taken possession of every heart as the forerunner of his fall, and filled his own with confusion and dismay. He presently became afraid to put any more questions, and nobody dared to give him any information.

At length a countryman suddenly came up in the midst of this affrighted concourse, and with the usual salutation of a profound inclination of body, without pronouncing a single word, drew from the bosom of his castan a sealed note, which he presented to the emperor. This countryman was Bressan's domestic. The emperor took the note, ran his eyes hastily over it, and then reading it aloud, informed those who were standing round him, that a rebellion had broke out that morning at Petersburg; that the troops had taken arms in favour of Catharine; that she was going to be crowned in the church of Kasan; and that the whole of the populace seemed to take part in the insurrection.

The tzar seemed greatly dejected at these tidings. The courtiers did their utmost to communicate to him a courage which they did not themselves possess. The chancellor Vorontzoff observed, that it was highly possible that Catharine

rine might have used her endeavours to make the soldiery and the people rise, but that this slight fermentation could not be attended with any dangerous consequences; and if the tzar would give his consent, he would haste immediately to Petersburg, and be bound to bring the empress back.

The tzar, without hesitation, accepted the chancellor's proposal; and that minister departed for town. On entering the palace, he found the empress surrounded by a multitude of people in the act of doing homage. He nevertheless had the boldness to represent to her with a becoming confidence the danger to which she was exposing herself. "You may," said he, "madam, have some success; but it will not be of long duration. Is it therefore acting wisely to trust to the blind zeal of your imprudent friends? Is it worth while, for the sake of sharing with them in a momentary reign, to make an irreconcilable enemy of your husband? Why take up arms against him, when it is so easy for you to obtain whatever you can desire by the gentleness of your persuasion, and the superiority of your mind? Consider, that the regiments of the guards do not compose the whole army of the tzar, and that the inhabitants of St. Petersburg are but a  
" very



“ very weak part of the russian nation.” Catharine calmly replied, “ You see how it is : it “ is not I that am doing any thing ; I only yield “ to the ardent sensibility of the nation.”

The chancellor, who actually saw the crowd every moment increasing, and read in the angry looks of some of the conspirators that these remonstrances might be attended with the worst of consequences to him, forgot his duty, took the oath with the rest, and added, “ I will serve you “ in the council, madam; but I am useless in the “ field. My presence might even be displeasing “ to those who have been hearing my address to “ you; and that I may avoid exciting their “ jealousies, I beseech your majesty to let me “ remain in my house, under the guard of some “ trusty officer.” To this reasonable request the empress consented. She sent him home, with orders not to quit his house. By this prudent precaution, the chancellor was at once safe from the vindictive spirit of the partisans of Catharine, and from the suspicions of the tzar.

At six in the evening, Catharine a second time mounted her horse; and, with a drawn sword in her hand, and a branch of oak about her temples, she hastened to put herself at the head of her troops that were already on their march. Princess Dashkoff and the hetman Razumoffky

Razumoffky rode one on each side of her. A crowd of courtiers followed; all of them vying with each other who should display the greatest ardour in sharing her dangers and partaking in her triumph. Her army was augmented by a new accession of 3000 kosacs well mounted, whom the emperor had ordered to file off towards Pomerania, but were stopped on the way by a messenger from the hetman, with directions to join him.

In the mean time, after the departure of the chancellor, the tzar had continued a prey to the most distressing anxieties. He was every instant receiving some news of the progress of the revolution. It was impossible for him any longer to make it a matter of doubt. Surrounded by women in tears, and young courtiers incapable of giving advice, he strolled with great strides about the walks of the gardens, forming twenty different plans, and adhering to none: one while indulging in violent-imprecations against Catharine; then dictating useless manifestoes. When the hour of dinner was come, he commanded it to be served up on the margin of the sea, and seemed for some time to have a respite from his sorrowful reflections.

But this respite was of short duration. His frightened imagination soon held up again the danger

danger that menaced him, and he dispatched an order to the 3000 Holsteiners whom he had left at Oranienbaum, to come immediately with their artillery. It was just at this point of time that the venerable marshal Munich made his appearance.

Munich, whom the emperor respected on account of his great military reputation, and whom he had almost affronted by requesting him to adopt the new prussian exercise; Munich was the only man who was able to give him salutary advice, and he gave it him. "Your majesty's troops are arriving," said the veteran commander. "Let us put ourselves at their head, and march straight to Petersburg. You have still many friends there: immediately on your appearance they will arm in your defence. The principal part of the guards are only under a momentary alienation, into which they have been misled, and will soon range themselves under your standard. Besides, if we are forced to come to action, be assured that the rebels will not long dispute with you the palm of victory."

This resolution seemed feasible to the tzar, but it was far from pleasing his timid courtiers; and while they were preparing to begin their march, news arrived of the empress's approach, whose army was said to consist of 20,000 men.

The



The women cried out, that it would be better to go back to Oranienbaum. Peter himself seemed determined not to expose his person. "Well!" returned Munich, "if you wish to decline a battle with the rebels, it is not advisable for you, at any rate, to stay to be attacked by them here, where you have no means of defending yourself to advantage. Neither Oranienbaum nor Peterhoff are in a capacity to hold out a siege. But Cronstadt offers you a safe retreat. Cronstadt is still under your command. You have there a formidable fleet, and a numerous garrison. It is, in short, from Cronstadt that you will find it an easy matter to bring Petersburg back to its duty."

This advice was unanimously applauded. General Devier was immediately sent off in a boat to take the command of Cronstadt\*; and scarcely

\* The island of Cronstadt lies opposite to Oranienbaum, at the distance of seven versts. When in possession of the Swedes it was called Retufari, and by the Russians Kotloi-ostroff, kettle-island. In 1723 Peter the great named it Cronstadt, or crown town, as being the crown to his new city: it is situate in the eastern extremity of the gulf of Finland, is 39 versts W. N. W. distant from St. Petersburg, and from Sestrabek 12. The island is 8 versts in length from E. to W. and about one verst in breadth; it is flat, about 8 fathom higher than the level of the sea, with

scarcely were two yachts prepared for the departure of the tzar, than an officer came to assure

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some woody parts of birch and firs. Its strata, under the turf, as was seen in digging the canals, are clay and limestone. Two smaller islands on its southern side are strongly fortified, one of which has the name of Cronslot. The town and fort of Cronstadt were built by Peter I. in 1710. It has two fine, secure, and spacious harbours, one for the imperial navy, and the other for merchant-ships, of which it is full during the summer and autumn months. The town occupies the eastern part of the island, is large, has many good houses, several churches, a custom-house, and other public buildings. Here is also an english church with a minister, for the use of the masters and sailors of the ships that resort hither in the service of the russia trade. The harbour for the ships of war is extremely remarkable, and frequently visited by foreigners to their great satisfaction. It is protected by piers and batteries, and belonging to it is the famous Peter's canal and the docks. The canal was begun by Peter I. and completed under Elizabeth, by general Lubras. It is faced with masonry, 1050 fathoms in length, at bottom 60 and at top 100 fathoms broad, 24 fathoms deep, and in this state extends 358 fathoms into the sea. Adjacent to the canal are the docks, in which 10 and more ships may be repaired at a time. They are provided with proper sluices, for admitting and for letting out the ships. The evacuation of the basin, after letting in a vessel, is performed by a steam-engine. The other canals made by order of the late empress, the large mole surrounded by a pier of granite, constructed under the direction of admiral Greig, with many other particulars, render Cronstadt richly worthy the observation of all travellers into those parts.

him

him that he might rely on the fidelity of that place. Peter, who thought he already saw Catharine at the gates of Peterhoff, precipitately got on board, followed by his affrighted court and the intrepid Munich.

It seemed as if some dreadful fatality hung over the head of the unfortunate monarch to frustrate all the wisest measures he adopted. Every thing in Cronstadt had assumed a new face within the space of a few hours. The fleet and the regiments, which had just received general Devier with cries of joy, and swearing to continue their fealty to the tzar, had already broke out into open revolt: Devier was deprived of the command and put into prison; and this rapid change was the effect of a stratagem.

During the first hours of the insurrection, and in the measures that were primarily taken for ensuring its success, not one of the conspirators had bestowed a thought upon the port of Cronstadt. It was not even till afternoon that somebody, reflecting on the importance of that place, remarked the mistake they had committed in neglecting it so long. Admiral Taliezin made the offer to go and take possession of it. It was accepted. He embarked in his long-boat, expressly forbid his rowers to mention whence they came, and arrived at Cronstadt. General Devier, who

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kept



kept on the look-out, as he expected every moment the emperor, ran forward to meet Taliezin, and artfully endeavoured to discover whether he was of Catharine's party; but Taliezin, more artful than he, pretended ignorance of the effects of the revolt; saying, that being at his country-house, and hearing a confused account of some disturbance that had happened at Petersburg, he was hurrying to get on board the fleet, whither his duty called him. Devier believed the story, and went his way. Taliezin immediately repaired to the quarter of the sailors, harangued them, told them of the success of the empress, that they could not do better than to declare for her, distributed among them brandy and money, and engaged them to follow him to arrest the commandant. Some soldiers joined themselves to the sailors. Devier was instantly thrown into prison, and Taliezin remained master, in the name of the empress, of a place, the possession whereof would have been the salvation of the tzar, or at least have furnished him with the means of making a stout resistance.

Precisely while this scene was transacting, Peter presented himself before the mouth of the harbour. Taliezin had already made the dispositions for preventing his coming on shore.

A part

A part of the garrison, under arms, lined the coast. The cannons were levelled, the matches lighted, and at the moment when the foremost yacht cast anchor, the centinel called out, "Who comes there?"—"The emperor," it was answered from the yacht. "There is no emperor," replied the centinel. Peter started forward; and, throwing back his cloak, to shew the badges of his order, exclaimed, "What! do you not know me?"—"No," ejaculated a thousand voices at once, "we know of no emperor. Long live the empress Catharine!" Then Taliezin threatened to sink the yacht if it did not put off in an instant. Peter retired in great consternation: but Gudovitch took him by the arm; and, laying hold on one of the timbers at the entrance of the mole; "Put your hands by the side of mine," said he, "and let us leap on shore. None will dare to fire upon you, and Cronstadt will still belong to your majesty\*."

Munich seconded the advice of Gudovitch; but in vain. In his dismay, Peter III. would consent to nothing but flight, and ran to hide himself in the cabin of the yacht, among the

\* Countess Bruce and madam Zagreïsky, who were both present, have frequently related this transaction.

terrified women. They did not even give themselves time to raise the anchor; but cut the cable, and went off by the use of their oars.

When the yachts were at a considerable distance from the port, the rowers stopped. It was a fine night; and Munich and Gudovitch, sitting upon deck, contemplated in silent sorrow the starry sky and the calm surface of the sea. The steersman came down into the cabin, to ask the czar whither he would please to be taken into the vessel. Peter ordered Munich to be called, and said to him, "Field-marshal, I perceive that I was too late in following your advice; but you see to what extremities I am reduced. You, who have escaped from so many dangers, tell me, I beseech you, what I ought to do."—"Proceed immediately to join the squadron at Reval," returned Munich; "there take a ship, go on to Pomerania, put yourself at the head of your army, return to Russia, and I promise you, that in six weeks Petersburg and all the rest of the empire will be in subjection to you."

The women and the courtiers, as if they had come to an agreement to ruin the unfortunate Peter, began directly to cry out, that the rowers would never have strength enough to reach Reval.



Reval \*. "Well then!" replied Munich, "we will all row with them." But such generous counsel could not be agreeable to this timid or treacherous court. They shuddered at it. They seemed to try which should be most eager in assuring the emperor that his danger was not so great as he imagined; that Catharine only wanted to come to an accommodation with him, and that it was far better to negotiate than to fight. The imbecil prince, whose greatest misfortune it ever had been, not to be able to resolve on the courageous side, yielded to these representations, and gave orders to the pilot to make for Oranienbaum.

It was four in the morning when they reached that place. Some of the emperor's domestics, in great alarm, came to receive him. He commanded them not to divulge the news of his return, shut himself up in his apartment, strictly forbidding any person to be admitted, and secretly wrote to the empress.

At ten o'clock he came out with a countenance tolerably calm and serene. Those of his holstein guards who were come back to Oranienbaum, ran and surrounded him, shedding tears of af-

\* The ancient town of Reval, with its harbour and fort, is situate on the gulf of Finland,  $59^{\circ} 26' 22''$  N. L. and  $42^{\circ} 27' 30''$  long. distant 340 versts from St. Petersburg.

fection and joy. They kissed his hands, they embraced his knees, they pressed him to march them against the army of the empress, and solemnly swore that they were all to a man ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of his. Old Munich once more tried what influence he might have upon Peter, and seized this occasion for exhorting him to make a courageous stand in his own defence. "Come," said he, "march against the rebels. I will go before you, and their swords shall not reach you till they have pierced my body." But the persuasion of Munich had no more effect on the czar than the noble devotedness of his holstein troops.

While all this was transacting, the empress, at the head of her army, had come to a halt at Krasnoë-kabac, a small public-house by the roadside\*, exactly eight versts from Petersburg,

\* Krasnoë-kabac is rather a better sort of public-house, frequented chiefly for little Sunday excursions, by the tradesmen of the town, particularly the Germans. A billiard-room is on one hand of the door, and on the other an ordinary parlour; into the latter the empress with princess Dashkoff entered; and here (the old landlady, who died about a dozen years ago, has often related) they ordered a small fire to be lighted, and employed themselves a considerable time in burning a great store of letters and papers. Krasnoë signifies *red*, and kabac, a public-house: the house is painted all over red.

and

and had turned into the first room, where she reposed for some hours, on the cloaks which the officers of her suite had made for her into a bed. At break of day, Gregory Orloff, with a few determined volunteers, had been to reconnoitre the environs of Peterhoff, and finding there only some peasants armed with scythes, who had been collected the preceding evening, he dispersed them by blows with the flat of his sabre, and made them join him in the cries of "Long live the empress!" At five in the morning, Catharine got again on horseback, and rode to the monastery of St. Sergius\*, near Strelna, where she made a second halt.

The empress was still there when she received the letter from the tzar, in which he told her that he acknowledged his misconduct, and proposed to share the sovereign authority with her. But Catharine returned him no answer, detained the messenger, and presently after set out again.

Peter now learning that the empress was approaching, ordered one of his horses to be saddled, in the design of escaping, alone and dis-

\* Svetotroïtskaia Sergiyevskaia pustinz, the holy-trinity hermitage of St. Sergius, is a small monastery, substantially built of brick, surrounded by a quadrangular cloister, inclosing a church and three chapels, is 16 versts from St. Petersburg, and has now but few monks.

guised,



guised, towards the frontiers of Poland. But, always pusillanimous, always irresolute, he shortly after gave orders to dismantle his little fortrefs at Oranienbaum, in order to convince Catharine that he intended to make no resistance; and wrote to her a second letter, imploring her mercy and asking her pardon in the most humiliating expressions. He assured her at the same time that he would resign to her the crown of Russia, and petitioned her only to grant him a pension with liberty to retire into Holstein.

Catharine deigned no more to reply to this letter than she had done to the former; but after having conversed some time with the chamberlain Ismailoff, who had brought it, and whom she easily persuaded to betray his master, she sent him back to the tzar to determine him to submit unconditionally to her will.

Ismailoff returned to Oranienbaum, attended by a single servant. The tzar had then with him his holstein guard, consisting of 600 men. These he ordered to keep at a distance, and shut himself up with the chamberlain, who exhorted him to abandon his troops and to repair to the empress, assuring him that he would be well received, and would obtain of her all that he wished. Peter hesitated for some time: but Ismailoff telling him that he must make no delay,

delay, that his life was in danger, he followed the advice of this traitor. Ismailoff then helped him into a carriage with Romanovna Vorontzoff and Gudovitch, and they took the road of Peterhoff.

The unfortunate tzar thought that so much resignation might move the heart of Catharine. He was presently undeceived. When the carriage in which he rode passed through the army, the kosacs whom the emperor first met, and who had never seen him, kept a mournful silence; he himself felt a lively emotion: then the reiterated vociferations of "Long live Catharine!" completed his despondency.

On stepping out of the carriage, his mistress was carried off by the soldiers, who tore off her riband\*, with which princess Dashkoff, her sister, was almost instantly decorated. His general aide-de-camp Gudovitch was likewise insulted; but he preserved the utmost tranquillity of mind, and in a dignified manner reproached the rebels with their insolence and treason.

The tzar was led up the grand staircase. There the attendants stripped him of the marks of his order; they took off his clothes; and, on ransacking the pockets, found several dia-

\* It has been pretended by some persons, that it was princess Dashkoff herself that pulled it off.

monds and pieces of jewellery. After having remained there some time in his shirt, and barefoot, a butt to the outrages of an insolent soldiery, they threw over him an old morning-gown, and shut him up alone in a room, with a guard at the door.

Count Panin, being sent by the empress, was admitted to the tzar, and had a long conference with him. He told him that her majesty would not long keep him in confinement, but send him into Holstein according to his own request. To this promise he added several others, probably without the design of keeping any. He concluded his visit by making him write and sign the following declaration :

“ During the short space of my absolute reign over the  
“ empire of Russia, I became sensible that I was not able to  
“ support so great a burden, and that my abilities were  
“ not equal to the task of governing so great an empire,  
“ either as a sovereign, or in any other capacity whatever.  
“ I also foresaw the great troubles which must have from  
“ thence arisen, and have been followed with the total ruin  
“ of the empire, and covered me with eternal disgrace. After  
“ having therefore seriously reflected thereon, I declare,  
“ without constraint, and in the most solemn manner, to  
“ the russian empire, and to the whole universe, that I for  
“ ever renounce the government of the said empire, never  
“ desiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an absolute  
“ sovereign, or under any other form of government ;  
“ never wishing to aspire thereto, to use any means, of any  
“ sort, for that purpose. As a pledge of which, I swear  
“ sincerely,



"sincerely, before God and all the world, to this present  
"renunciation, written and signed this 29th of June O. S.  
"1762."

Thus, not satisfied with depriving him of his crown, it was thought fit to make him the murderer of his own reputation; and this unfortunate prince, moved with the vain hope of life, signed this paper declaring his conviction of his inability to govern the empire, either as a sovereign, or in any other capacity, and his sense of the distress in which his continuing at the head of affairs would inevitably involve it.

Having obtained this fatal act, count Panin left him; and Peter seemed to enjoy a greater composure of mind. In the evening, however, an officer, with a strong escort, came and conveyed him a prisoner to Ropscha, a small imperial palace, at the distance of about 20 versts from Peterhoff.

Thus was a revolution of such immense importance effected in one day, and without shedding a single drop of blood. The unfortunate emperor enjoyed the power, of which he had made so imprudent and impolitic an use, no longer than six months. His wife, without any hereditary title, was sovereign mistress of the Russian empire, and the most absolute power on earth was now held by an elective monarch.

Immediately

Immediately on this revolution a number of manifestoes appeared, in which the conduct of the late tzar was severely condemned, the weakness of his personal character exposed, and designs of the blackest kind, even that of murdering his consort, attributed to him. Those manifestoes at the same time were filled with the strongest declarations of affection from the empress to the subjects of Russia, of regard to their interests, and of attachment to their religion; and they are all filled with such unaffected and fervent strains of piety, as must needs prove extremely edifying to those who are acquainted with the sentiments of pure religion, by which great princes are generally animated on occasions of this nature.

In the mean time Petersburg had been, since the preceding day, in a state of uncertainty and expectation. Nobody had yet come to inform Catharine of these successes. Peter III. had still some friends in that city; and if he had had force enough to attack and repulse the rebels, its inhabitants would have received him with eagerness, as the means of appeasing his resentment. The foreign merchants, who live here in great numbers, dreaded, above all things, the fury of the russian soldiers, who perhaps, by plundering their houses and abusing their persons, would have thought they acted meritoriously

ritoriously in the opinion of the emperor. Accordingly many of them hastily conveyed their most valuable effects on board the vessels belonging to their nation, and at the same time kept in readiness to embark themselves. Towards evening the noise of cannon, that was heard from a distance, spread a sudden alarm throughout the city; but it was soon remarked, that these firings, being heard at regular intervals, and the tzar sending no one to secure Petersburg, this noise could only announce the victory of the empress. Tranquillity was thenceforward restored, and hope took place of fear.

Catharine slept that night at Peterhoff, no longer as a captive, but as absolute sovereign. The day following, she received at her levée the homages of the principal nobility who had joined her the foregoing evening, and those of the courtiers and young women who came from Oranienbaum. Among these were the father, the brother, and several other relations of princefs Dashkoff, who, on beholding them prostrate before the empress, said, "Madam, pardon my family. You know that I have sacrificed it to you." Catharine commanded them to rise, and gave them her hand to kiss.

Marshal Munich also presented himself before her, to whom, as soon as her majesty perceived him,



him, she called aloud :—" Feldt-mareschal, it was " you then who wanted to fight me ?"—" Yes, " madam," answered Munich, in a firm and manly tone ; " could I do less for the prince " who delivered me from captivity ? But it is " henceforward my duty to fight for you ; and " you will find in me a fidelity equal to that " with which I had devoted my services to " him."

In the afternoon Catharine returned to Petersburg. Her entry was truly triumphant. She was on horseback, preceded or followed by the chiefs of the conspiracy. The whole army was crowned with wreaths of oak ; the shouts of joy and the applauses of the populace mingled with those of the soldiers. The crowd formed into lines for the empress, and she condescendingly gave them her hand to kiss, as she passed along. A great number of priests were assembled on the occasion about the avenues of the palace : as she rode through their ranks, she stooped down to salute the cheeks of the principal clergy, while they were kissing her hand ; a custom prevalent in that country, and is significant of the highest respect.

For some days after her return to the imperial residence, her majesty continued to shew herself to the multitude with great condescension.

scension. She knew how easy it is to gain the applauses of the public: she went to the senate, and heard several causes tried before her. She then held her court with a graceful and easy dignity, that effaced the remembrance of the sudden revolution that had just placed her on the throne. The foreign ministers had audiences of congratulation; and she received them with a particular address to each in the most flattering terms.

Her first care was to have prince Ivan conveyed from the house where he was concealed, and to send him back to Schlusfelburg. She next proceeded to bestow magnificent rewards on the principal actors in the revolt. Nikita Ivanovitch Panin was made prime minister; the Orloffs received the title of count; and the favourite Gregory Orloff was appointed lieutenant-general of the russian armies, and chevalier of St. Alexander Nefsky, the second order of the empire. Several officers of the guards were promoted. Four-and-twenty of them obtained considerable estates, with some thousands of boors. The finances were insufficient to give any thing to the soldiers but brandy and beer: they were distributed among them; and Catharine behaved to them with the greatest affability. At times she even put herself under

constraint in order not to disoblige them. Three days subsequent to the revolution a drunken soldier dreamed that the empress was carried off. He rose up, ran about the barracks, every where spreading alarm, crying out, that the Holsteiners and the Prussians had got possession of the empress. The regiment immediately took up arms, ran to the palace, and loudly insisted on seeing her majesty. The hetman Razumoffsky, having learned the cause of this tumult, appeared at a window, assured them that the empress was not carried off, and that after the disturbances and fatigues she had undergone for some days, she was now reposing in peace and security. But the soldiers refused to believe him, and began to renew their clamours with redoubled violence. The hetman now went to the chamber of the sovereign, caused her to be awaked; and praying her not to be frightened; " You know that " I am frightened at nothing," answered she boldly: " but what is the matter?"—" The " soldiers imagine that you are not here: they " insist upon seeing you," returns Razumoffsky. " Well, they must be satisfied," replied she; and immediately rose up, dressed herself, called for her carriage, with orders to drive to the kasanskoi church. On her way the soldiers surrounded her carriage, interrogating each other:

" Is



"Is that indeed the empress? Is that indeed our mother?" Being come to the church, Catharine shewed herself to them, harangued them, thanked them for their sollicitude, and dismissed them highly satisfied.

She made a point of shewing clemency towards the officers and the friends of the emperor; and if any of them were forbid the court, not one was deprived of his property or his life. Only Gudovitch, the aide-de-camp-general, Volkoff, and Milganoff, were imprisoned. Countess Vorontzoff, who at first had been treated rudely by the soldiers, was sent to the house of the senator her father; and the empress expressly forbade a repetition of the like affronts. She was afterwards exiled for some time to a village 1000 versts beyond Mosco.

All the courtiers now eagerly pressed about the sovereign. They endeavoured to discover on whom her favour would alight; every one flattering himself that he should obtain the greater share of it, while none suspected that the heart of that princess had long been fixed on an officer of humble birth. The first marks of distinction shewn to Gregory Orloff appeared only as the reward of his services, and not the pledges of love. It was princess Dashkoff who discovered it the first. Jealousy is more watchful than am-

bition: it is especially less discreet; and madame Dashkoff, not satisfied with reproaching Catharine with a choice that degraded her, spread the rumour of it among her friends, and thus brought on her own disgrace. The chiefs of the revolt now learned, with displeasure, that they had been working for a man whom they had always regarded as the instrument of their projects; while the courtiers perceived that, in the art of intrigue, this man was more expert than themselves.

The most zealous partisans of Catharine were not, however, without uneasiness. Some regiments murmured, and began to repent the part they had acted against their lawful sovereign. The people, who easily pass from rage to compassion, now pitied the fate of this unfortunate prince. They forgot his defects, his caprices, his infirmities, in the recollection of his amiable qualities, and his sad reverse of fortune\*. The sailors reproached the guards to their face, that they had sold their master for brandy and beer.

\* The ingenious and judicious traveller Mr. Coxé very justly observes, in speaking of this revolution, "that Peter, notwithstanding his violence and incapacity, possessed several qualifications of a popular nature, and was greatly beloved by those who had access to his person." See *Coxé's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 43. 8vo edit.

After the first tumult of the revolution was over, they now waked as it were out of a profound intoxication: they contemplated what had happened in solemn silence, and began to consider whether all was right. Without speaking of the peaceable burghers, who, during the doubtful explosion, had kept close in their houses, even a very great number of them who had been exceedingly active in the business, and loudest in their execrations of Peter, were now seized with a deep and painful remorse, and lamented the sufferings they had brought upon their monarch. But among the guards the same sentiments displayed themselves in a still more violent manner: numbers of the soldiers, repenting of their abominable treason, for in that light they now beheld their late behaviour, expressed their resentment against their accomplices in the most intemperate language, and the most abusive terms that resentment can dictate to vulgar minds; imputing to their seductions the crimes into which they had been led, and loading them with reproaches for the compunction they now suffered in consequence of their guilt. From words they proceeded to blows, and even to murder. Though throughout the revolution no blood had hitherto been shed, now several were killed in these furious



squabbles. The officers repeatedly interposed, at the hazard of their personal safety, to pacify the men, and make them hearken to reason : but in vain. Such is the populace in all ages and nations : rash to perpetrate what their fury suggests ; repentant at the sight of the mischief they have done ; then prompt in their accusations against others, instead of confessing their own misconduct. Nothing was wanting but some resolute leader, to have now replaced Peter III. on the throne, as suddenly as but three days ago he had been precipitated from it : the attachment of the common people to him was clearly evinced in the rebellion of Pugatcheff, eleven years after. In short, apprehensions were entertained of a new insurrection.

While the public mind was agitated by these fears, the news that was brought from Mosco served only to increase the panic. The governor of that capital, being informed of the revolution by the emissaries of Catharine, ordered the five regiments that composed the garrison to take to their arms ; and after having drawn them up in the great place of the palace of the ancient tzars, he there convoked the people, who flocked together in crowds. That officer then read aloud the ukaufe by which the empress announced her accession and the abdication of  
her

her spouse \*: at the conclusion of which he exclaimed, " Long live the empress Catharine " the Second!" But the people and the soldiers remained in silence. He repeated the same cry; the same silence ensued. No sound but that of sullen murmurs was heard. The troops complained that the regiments of the guards had insolently dared to dispose of the throne. The governor, startled at these unexpected expressions of discontent, called upon the other officers to join him. They cried out together, " Long live the empress!" This done, the multitude was dismissed, and the soldiers sent back to their barracks.

No one was more uneasy at this time than Catharine herself. Whether her situation be considered in a moral or a political light, it must have occasioned her emotions of no common force; and so suddenly and unexpectedly brought into it! She certainly never thought, on coming to Russia, nor, during the first years that ensued, ever busied herself in forming designs of ascending the throne as absolute sovereign. Generous and amiable by nature, she was true to these qualities from her infancy to the day of her death. Neither a selfish contempt for all limitations, nor

\* Which see in the appendix to this vol. No. 5.

an inordinate thirst of power, formed any part of her character. But this generosity and amiableness of temper gave the young princess undoubted pretensions to happiness and joy, which, as the consort of Peter, she saw were not answered, and of which she was likely to be deprived for the whole of her life. Now, after this first step, her prospect, whichever way she turned, could certainly not be cheerful. If she looked backwards, no pleasing recollections enlivened the view; if forwards, the scene was all darkened with impending clouds. It is well known that, haunted by the spectres of the imagination during this period, even in sleep she found no repose; and that several times in a night she has quitted her bed, and even her palace.

And what must have been the feelings of Peter in his lonesome captivity! It was easy to foresee that his imprisonment, either mediately or immediately, would bring on his death; and so it actually happened.

Undoubtedly no great efforts were necessary to determine the conspirators to free themselves from an object of disquietude. They who have taken one step in the road of guilt, make no hesitation at taking a second, and the death of the unhappy emperor was now decreed.

On



On his removal from Peterhoff, the tzar was still blind to the fate that awaited him. Thinking he should be detained but a short time in prison, previous to his being sent into Germany, he sent a message to Catharine, asking her to permit him to have the negro who was of service to him by his attachment, and amused him with his singularities, together with a dog he was fond of, his violin, a bible, and a few romances; at the same time telling her, that, disgusted at the wickedness of mankind, he was resolved henceforward to devote himself to a philosophical life. However reasonable these requests, not one of them was granted, and his plans of wisdom were turned into ridicule. He was conducted to a little imperial retreat at Ropscha.

Here he had been six days without the knowledge of any other persons than the chiefs of the conspirators and the soldiers by whom he was guarded, when Alexius Orloff, accompanied by an officer named Teploff, came to him with the news of his speedy deliverance, and asked permission to dine with him. According to the custom of that country, wine-glasses and brandy were brought previous to dinner; and while the officer amused the tzar with some trifling discourse, his chief filled the glasses, and poured a  
poison-

poisonous mixture into that he intended for the prince. The tzar, without any distrust, swallowed the potion: on which, he presently experienced the most cruel pains; and on his being offered a second glass, on pretence of its giving him relief, he refused it, with reproaches on him that offered it.

He called aloud for milk; but the two monsters offered him poison again, and pressed him to take it. A french valet-de-chambre, greatly attached to him, now ran in. Peter threw himself into his arms, saying, in a faint tone of voice, "It was not enough then to prevent me from  
" reigning in Sweden, and to deprive me of the  
" crown of Russia! I must also be put to  
" death!"

The valet-de-chambre presumed to intercede for his master; but the two miscreants forced this dangerous witness out of the room, and continued their ill-treatment of the tzar. In the midst of this tumult the younger of the princes Baratsinsky came in, and joined the two former. Orloff, who had already thrown down the emperor, was pressing upon his breast with both his knees, and firmly griping his throat with his hand. The unhappy monarch, now struggling with that strength which arises from despair,

spair, the two other assassins threw a napkin round his neck, and put an end to his life by suffocation\*.

Such is the account of the death of Peter III. as circulated in whispers at Petersburg, and which indeed has never been contradicted: whether it be the real manner in which the tzar came by his death is, after all, known only to that Being to whom the heart is open, and from whom no secrets are concealed. The partisans that might have retained their attachment to him after his fall; the murmurs of the populace, who quietly permit revolutions to be effected, and afterwards lament those who have fallen their victims; the difficulties arising from keeping in custody a prisoner of such consequence; all these motives in conjunction tend to give credit to the opinion that some hand of uncontrollable authority shortened his days. But the conduct of the empress before that event, and especially for four-and-thirty years that she afterwards reigned, is

\* On the 17th of July, just one week after the revolution. These particulars are confirmed by the account of a gentleman who was in the confidence of prince Potemkin. It has been falsely pretended that Potemkin was with them. But persons of great credibility, who were at that time in Russia, assert the contrary, and Potemkin always denied the fact with indignation.

of



of itself alone a sufficient refutation of so atrocious a calumny, as would fix the guilt of it on her.

Whatever were the failings and errors of Peter III. it is not here intended to extenuate or defend them; though certainly they were too cruelly punished. Neither ought the good he did to be passed over in silence. His two *ukauses* for abolishing the secret inquisition, and for giving liberty to the nobles, must for ever secure to this prince the grateful acknowledgment of Russia. The *clement*\* Elizabeth had left in subsistence a tribunal, before which the first persons of the empire, on the bare deposition of a villain on the way to execution, were

\* To what has been above related of that sovereign, the following may be here subjoined: She one day received at her toilet a lady of the court, who with great difficulty continued standing. Elizabeth at last perceived her uneasiness, and asked what was the matter with her. "My legs are very much swelled."—"Well, well, lean against that bureau; I will make as if I did not see you." This was truly characteristic. The same princess would not permit any lady to wear, not only the same stuffs that she had chosen, but the same patterns: a lady still living in 1792, and very well known, ventured to infringe this prohibition. Her boldness had like to have cost her dear; and so much the more as she had already incurred the indignation of the *clement* monarch by receiving the french fashions before her.

delivered

delivered and put to the torture, for extorting the confession of imaginary crimes. Peter III. was dethroned; his name was never honoured with so flattering an epithet; and he suppressed that tribunal. This prince was kind, humane, and beloved of all who composed his more intimate circle: this is asserted on the affirmation of many Russians who were attached to his person\*. He recalled all the exiles that were lingering out their lives in Siberia (excepting Bestucheff); and it must have been a spectacle curious enough to see Biren and Munich together; the former embarrassed, confounded, not

\* In the just tribute of praise we have more than once taken occasion to pay to the memory of the unfortunate Peter, we are pleased with having the concurrence of the author of a late publication, who, after expressing his indignation at some writers so contemptible as to traduce the memory of this unfortunate sovereign, adds, "that he was  
" a victim to the undesigned openness and integrity of his  
" heart; a prince, whose answer to the precautions which  
" were recommended to him by the king of Prussia was,  
" *I do good to all the world, and with that what have I to*  
" *fear?* a prince, who was the benefactor of his country,  
" and whose laws (those very laws which were brought in  
" accusation against him as crimes) have been religiously  
" observed as models of wisdom and humanity, and without  
" which the reign of the empress would have been less  
" glorious, and her people less happy."—Survey of the  
Turkish Empire, p. 445.

daring

daring to lift up his eyes, dreading to meet those of the son or the brother of some unfortunate wretch who had been assassinated or banished by his command; Munich, on the other hand, forming the most perfect contrast with him. Fourscore years of his life elapsed, twenty of them passed in exile in the frightful wastes of Siberia, had not depressed that firm and generous soul,—at the head of armies,—condemned to death,—in frozen deserts,—recalled to court, and reinstated in all his employments, Munich was every where the same; he ever preserved that unalterable serenity, that energy of character, which fall to the lot of so very few\*.

Had the emperor, during the six months of his reign, done no more than issue those two decrees just mentioned, he would have been entitled to rank with those sovereigns who lay a just claim to the gratitude of their subjects. The freedom of the nobility is undoubtedly the first step to civilization. That indispensable preliminary had escaped the attention of Peter the great: it was by this that he ought to have begun his work, and it is to be regretted that

\* Field-marshal Munich obtained the government of Esthonia and Livonia, and died three years afterwards at Riga, at the age of 85 years.



the russian legislator failed of perceiving the absolute necessity of it. The seizure of the possessions of the church was one of the causes of the public discontent; but what shews that the act was far from being bad in itself, is, that the empress never thought it expedient to restore them: the odium did not fall upon her; the fault being committed, she had the address to profit by it\*.

Alexèy Orloff immediately mounted his horse, and rode full speed to inform the empress that

\* The before-mentioned writer throws out strong suggestions that Catharine was more closely implicated in the murder of her husband than is related by Rulhiere, whose book he strongly insinuates to have been mutilated in the MS. "Can any man believe," says he, "that this vindication of the dethroning of Peter III. was the book which withstood the temptation of Catharine's gold, and the menace of the bastille? Whoever has been in Russia knows (or might have known) the facts, and can contradict this ridiculous misrepresentation of them—the transaction is but thirty-seven years old." Certainly prince Potemkin knew all the particulars of it. And as this author was in the confidence of that prince, it is to be hoped that he will pronounce the *fiat lux*. Indeed he gives the public room to hope and sovereigns to fear that he will one day let out the secret. "Many powerful interests," continues he, "were combined to bury in oblivion this horrid event; but let sovereigns and individuals learn, that TRUTH will one day appear?" To which we have only to say: The sooner the better.—Survey of the Turkish Empire.

Peter

Peter III. had breathed his last. It was at the instant when her majesty was going to make her appearance at court. She appeared with a tranquil air; and afterwards shut herself up with Orloff, Panin, Razumoffsky, Gleboff, and some other confidential persons, to deliberate whether the senate and people should be immediately made acquainted with the death of the emperor, or whether it might not be more advisable to wait for that purpose till the ensuing day. The latter was determined. Catharine dined in public as usual, and in the evening held a court.

The next day the news of the emperor's death was communicated to the public at large, while her majesty was at table. At that instant she rose from her seat, with her eyes full of tears. She dismissed the courtiers and the foreign ministers, ran and shut herself in her apartment, and for several days together shewed marks of the profoundest grief. During this time the following declaration was published on the part of the empress:

" By the grace of God, Catharine II. empress and autocratix of all the Russias, to all our loving subjects, &c. greeting:

" The seventh day after our accession to the throne of all the Russias, we received information that the late emperor Peter III. by the means of a bloody accident in his hinder parts, commonly called piles, to which he had been

“ been formerly subject, was attacked with a most violent  
“ griping colic. That therefore we might not be wanting  
“ in christian duty, nor disobedient to the divine command,  
“ by which we are enjoined to preserve the life of our  
“ neighbour, we immediately ordered that the said Peter  
“ should be furnished with every thing that might be judged  
“ necessary to prevent the dangerous consequences of that  
“ accident, and to restore his health by the aids of me-  
“ dicine. But, to our great regret and affliction, we were  
“ yesterday evening apprised, that, by the permission of the  
“ Almighty, the late emperor departed this life. We have  
“ therefore ordered his body to be conveyed to the monastery  
“ of Nefsky, in order to its interment in that place. At  
“ the same time, with our imperial and maternal voice, we  
“ exhort our faithful subjects to forgive and forget what is  
“ past, to pay the last duties to his body, and to pray to  
“ God sincerely for the repose of his soul; willing them  
“ however to consider this unexpected and sudden death,  
“ as an especial effect of the providence of God, whose  
“ impenetrable decrees are working for us, for our throne,  
“ and for our country, things known only to his holy will.

“ Done at St. Petersburg, July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1762.”

The body of the unfortunate Peter III. was brought to Petersburg, and exposed for three days in the church of the monastery of St. Alexander Nefsky. The body lay in an open coffin, dressed in his holstein uniform, and persons of all ranks and conditions were admitted, as usual in that country, to kiss the hand of the deceased\*;

\* His face, it is said, was become quite black; extravasated blood was seen to ooze through the epidermis which penetrated even the gloves which had been put on his hands;



and he was buried on the 21st, exactly the very day which he had fixed for his departure on the expedition against Denmark. His remains were deposited in a grave in the space before the rails of the altar, adjacent to that of the deposed regent Anne, the mother of the dethroned infant Ivan; and the place of his sepulture was distinguished with neither tomb nor inscription. Peter had never been crowned, he had resigned the reins of empire. No court beside that of Sweden went into mourning for him.

The day of his interment was a day of trouble and desolation for Petersburg. The populace that thronged to the funeral were very abusive to the soldiers of the guards, reproaching them with having basely shed the last drop of the blood of Peter the great.

The holstein soldiers, who had hitherto remained at Oranienbaum, at liberty, but disarmed,

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and the poison which the tzar had been forced to swallow must have been exceedingly violent, as all those who had the lamentable courage to lay their mouth to his, returned with swelled lips. The counsellors of Catharine knew well enough that such dreadful intimations might lead to a discovery of the means that had been employed for shortening the days of the unfortunate monarch, but they thought themselves less interested in saving appearances than in preventing the agitations which would have infallibly taken place if the people had imagined that the tzar was still alive.

resorted

resorted to these sorrowful obsequies; and, weeping, surrounded the corpse of their master. The Russians no longer beholding them as preferred rivals, but as faithful servants, took part in their grief.

The following day orders were sent down to embark these Holsteiners for their own country. They were put on board a vessel, which unhappily foundered soon after quitting the port of Cronstadt; numbers of them were seen clinging about the rocks above the water's level, where they were suffered to perish, while admiral Taliezin had dispatched a messenger to Petersburg to know whether he might be permitted to afford them relief.

Prince George, whom Peter III. had constituted duke of Courland, was obliged to renounce that title: but the empress compensated this loss by committing to him the administration of Holstein, whither he went with the rest of his family; and where he ever after served Catharine with fidelity and zeal.

The chancellor Bestucheff, who had been the most inveterate enemy of Peter, was recalled from his exile \*. Prince Volkonsky and

\* For the declaration published by the empress shortly after the recal of Bestucheff is too remarkable to be forgotten. Some portions of it are therefore inserted in the appendix to this volume, No. VI.

lieutenant Kalishkin were sent off to him, who brought him to Petersburg. Catharine restored to him his rank of field-marshal, and his place in the council, besides settling upon him an annual pension of 20,000 rubles, and dispensing him from employment on account of his great age. Several other exiles and prisoners were on this occasion set free, but neither Ivan nor any of his family. It was now a kind of resurrection at Petersburg, when so many persons who had so long been separated from their acquaintance, forgotten by the world and buried in the deserts of Siberia, again appeared about the town; and these apparitions had a farther similitude with the future life, as persons who had reciprocally crushed such as stood in their way, and then, by a singular retaliation of fortune, had afterwards suffered the like treatment from others, now met here together in reconciliation and peace. Count Munich, in 1740, had occasioned duke Biren to be imprisoned and banished; nay, even sketched out the plan of the house for his confinement at Pelim: one year after this, the count came himself as an exile to the same place, and was shut up in that house, which he certainly never thought he was building for himself, and from whence the duke was removed to a more comfortable



fortable abode. Their first meeting afterwards was in the presence of Peter III. who recalled them both; Munich being then 79, and Biren 72 years of age. Catharine completed the boon to the latter, by reinstating him in his dukedom of Courland, as has been before observed\*. Bestucheff had overthrown Lestok, his patron and promoter, and was afterwards himself sent to share the same fate: these likewise now found themselves here together, and likewise with passions much abated of their violence. Lestok was 70 when Peter recalled him; but Catharine first gave him a yearly allowance: the former chancellor of the empire she now presented with his freedom and dignities in his 69th year, and raised him to the post of general field-marshal. In that capacity he stood on the right hand of her throne at her coronation, during the public dinner, where the empress sat alone at table †.

Biren,

\* It may farther be remarked, that the independent sovereignty of Wurtemberg in Silesia, which Biren possessed, on his banishment reverted to Munich. They now compromised the affair, under the mediation of Catharine, in such manner, that the latter, for a considerable sum of money, fully made over the sovereignty to the former; to whose son, the duke having been again deposed by Catharine, it belonged at the time of her death.

† Bestucheff, some months after his return, published a book of devotion, which, during his exile, he had compiled

Biren, who, more exasperated that Peter III. had not reinstated him in his duchy, than grateful for the liberty to which he had just restored him, had joined himself to the triumphant party, and had occasionally enlightened it by his experience; Biren took the road to Courland, where he was without difficulty reinvested with his former authority, and where he favoured, to the utmost of his power, the views which Catharine had already formed on Poland.

To complete the picture of this man, who, after having devoted himself to the commission of the most horrible cruelties, assumed a lenity which he carried even to weakness, and who united in his conduct the extremes of servility and a ridiculous vanity, it will be necessary to mention the manner in which he took leave of Catharine. Falling on his knees before her, in presence of the whole court, he addressed her in these terms:

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of various passages, from the Psalms and other parts of the Bible. He afterwards caused a medal to be struck, on one side representing his bust, with the legend: *Alexius comes à Bestucheff Riumin, imp. Russ. olim cancellar. nunc senior, &c.* On the other is a coffin, with his escutcheon, orange trees, palm trees, fortitude, constancy. Over the coffin: *Tertio triumphat*; and in the exergue: *Post duos in vita de inimicis triumphos, de morte triumphat.* He died at St. Petersburg, April 21, 1766.

“ Most

“ Most illustrious and most puissant empress !  
“ most gracious sovereign and great lady !—Is  
“ it possible to conceive of a magnanimity and  
“ clemency equal to those which your imperial  
“ majesty has displayed towards me and my fa-  
“ mily ? A prince without liberty, without do-  
“ mains, without assistance, without support, is  
“ all at once surrounded with these several ad-  
“ vantages of which he had been deprived by a  
“ succession of misfortunes for a long succession  
“ of years. I am indebted for these advantages  
“ to that love of justice which fills the throne in  
“ the person of your imperial majesty, and which  
“ has just broke the plot which iniquity and vio-  
“ lence have been so artfully labouring to com-  
“ plete.

“ What can I do for properly acknowledging  
“ this grace and these bounties ? All my facul-  
“ ties in conjunction with those of my family are  
“ insufficient to that end ; and I should be in-  
“ consolable if I were not persuaded that your  
“ benevolence acquits those who have nothing  
“ to offer but gratitude and submission. These  
“ are the two sentiments which I shall carry with  
“ me to the grave, and which I shall incessantly  
“ inculcate on all that belong to me.—With the  
“ most humble prostrations then, at the feet of  
“ your imperial majesty, I promise you a grati-  
“ tude



“tude and submission without limitation, and I  
“presume to intreat you graciously to shew to  
“me and to mine your powerful protection\*.”

The news of the revolution was soon universally spread; and this great change in the government of Russia, it was universally feared, would be followed by a total change of system with regard to foreign affairs. The peace and alliance with the king of Prussia were very unpopular measures in that empire. It was not probable that the close and intimate connection which had subsisted between the king of Prussia and the late czar, could greatly recommend him to the successor. And as it was imagined that this revolution must have been in a great degree owing to the machinations of those courts, whom the czar had irritated by withdrawing from their alliance, there was the greater reason to apprehend that the power, which was now set up, would be exerted in their favour.

There were also great advantages on the side of Russia, if the empress should not hold the peace concluded by her late husband to be binding on her, as none of the conquests were at this

\* Although Biren well knew that he was the son of a courish peasant, he had taken the name and the arms of the Birons of France, desirous of passing for a descendant of that house.

time evacuated. Every thing seemed to conspire towards plunging the king of Prussia into the abyfs of his former distresses, after he had emerged from them, only for such a time, and in such a manner, as to make them more bitter and insupportable.

Fortunately, however, for this wonderful man, the empress, who had come to the Russian throne in the extraordinary manner that we have seen, could not look upon herself as sufficiently secure to undertake again a war of so much importance as that which had been just concluded. It was necessary, for some time at least, that she should confine her attention solely to her own safety. Therefore it was expedient to collect, within itself, all the force of the empire, in order to oppose it to the designs of the many malecontents, with which that empire always abounds, and who, though not attached to the interest of the late czar, and little inclined to revenge his fate, would find now both inducement and opportunity for raising troubles and attempting new changes. Very plausible pretences for such attempts existed from the time of Peter the great; who, whilst he improved and strengthened his kingdom, left in it, at the same time, the seeds of civil wars and revolutions.

These

These considerations, whatever her desires might be, induced the tzarina to continue so much of the system of her predecessor, as coincided with her situation. She therefore declared to the king of Prussia's ministers, " that she was  
" resolved to observe inviolably, in all points,  
" the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; that nevertheless she had thought  
" proper to bring back to Russia, by the nearest  
" roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and  
" Pomerania."

It was not the critical situation alone of the tzarina which produced this moderation; the prudent behaviour of his prussian majesty, during the time of his connection with the late tzar, had a considerable share in reconciling the mind of this empress to him, and of perpetuating something like the same friendship, with interests so very different.

On the 21st of July, the orders arrived at the allied camp at Petersburg for the russians to separate themselves from his army, and return without delay to their own country.

None of the sovereigns of Europe were ignorant of the steps by which Catharine had mounted the throne; but they made no hesitation in acknowledging her title. Some of them even testified



testified their joy on the occasion; their joy, however, was not of long duration.

Maria Theresa at first thought, that the Russians, abandoning the prussian standards, would unite their arms with her's, to enable her once more to give laws to Frederic. Maria Theresa was deceived; and shortly after saw, with equal astonishment and displeasure, Catharine not only ordering her troops to evacuate Prussia, but confirming the peace concluded by the tzar.

Lewis XV. also flattered himself that the caresses with which Catharine had distinguished his ambassador, while she was no more than grand duchess, were pledges of her attachment to France. But, no sooner was she seated on the throne, than, while indulging her taste for french literature \*, she manifested her contempt and aversion for the court of Versailles †. Her  
unfortunate

\* She was a great admirer of the french writers, and especially the tragic poets. Catharine also manifested a high esteem for the philosophers. She wrote to d'Alembert, offering him a salary of 50,000 rubles, if he would come to Petersburg to finish the Encyclopedie, and take upon him the charge of the education of the grand duke Paul Petrovitch. D'Alembert declined the offer. See the appendix, No. VII,

\* Catharine could never forgive the duc de Choiseul for patronizing the work of the abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, and she even complained of it not a long time before her death;  
against

unfortunate husband seemed in this respect also to have served her for a model.

The monarch who formed the best judgment of her character was the king of Prussia \*. That prince,

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against which work, in conjunction with Peter Ivanovitch Schuvaloff, she wrote "The Antidote," which was miserably translated into english by a lady.

\* The king of Prussia wrote thus, to count Finkenstein, one of his favourites:—"The emperor of Russia has been dethroned by his consort: it was to be expected. That princess has much good sense and the same inclinations as the defunct. She has no religion, but acts the devotee. It is the second volume of Zeno, the greek emperor, of his wife Adriana, and of Mary de Medicis. The late chancellor Bestucheff was her greatest favourite; and as he has a strong propensity to guineas, I flatter myself that the attachments of the present period will be the same. The poor emperor wanted to imitate Peter I. but he had not the capacity for it." This letter was certainly not intended to see the light; and it is curious enough to put it in parallel with what its author, that grand comedian Frederic, wrote for the public in his "History of the Seven-years War."—"The king," says he, "had cultivated the friendship of the grand duke, at the time when he was only duke of Holstein; and from a sensibility rarely found among mankind, more rarely still among kings, that prince, in return, preserved a grateful heart: he even gave marks of it in that war; for it was he who most contributed to the retreat of general Apraxin, in 1757; when, after having beaten general Lewald, he fell back into Poland. During all these troubles, that prince

" even

prince, having long foreseen the bold attempt by which she obtained the crown, repeatedly wrote to his minister Goltz, that, since Peter III. was resolutely bent on his own destruction, it was advisable for him to turn to the side of Catharine. Accordingly, baron Goltz, the assiduous companion and flatterer of the pleasures of the tzar, was one of the first to abandon him the moment his affairs were seen to take a disastrous turn, and received from Catharine the most gracious reception.

The empress likewise received with distinction the envoy of Copenhagen, and gave the king of Denmark assurances that he might make himself easy on the subject of Holstein, it being her intension always to keep up a good understanding with him.

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“ even abstained from going to council, where he had a seat,  
“ in order not to participate in the measures which the em-  
“ press was taking against Prussia, and which he disap-  
“ proved. . . . . The king acted with the emperor not  
“ as one sovereign with another, but with that cordiality  
“ which friendship demands, and which is the greatest  
“ blessing of it. The virtues of Peter III. formed an ex-  
“ ception to the rules of policy ; it was but right to act the  
“ same by him.”—*Histoire de la Guerre de sept Ans*, edit. de  
Berlin, tom. ii.

Mr.



Mr. Keith, ambaffador from England, had not exactly the fame freedom of access to this princess as his predecessor Williams had formerly had ; she treated him however as the minister of a friendly power, and took the first opportunity to renew the treaty which had long procured the English almost the whole commerce of Russia.

But, while she was securing peace with the kings of Europe, Catharine neglected nothing for the maintenance of it within the empire. She had more to fear from her own subjects than from foreign potentates ; she therefore employed herself in these affairs alternately with art and severity. The court presently assumed a new face. Every thing there was submissive to the secret will of Gregory Orloff, whose influence and haughtiness were increasing from day to day, humiliating and irritating the great, and making them ardently desire his fall. Several of them ventured to speak out, and a resolution to remove them was the immediate consequence. But Catharine thought it best to dissemble a while longer, before she openly avenged her favourite, and put the last seal to the patent of his power.

The second accounts that arrived from Mosco were of a more favourable complexion than the former.

former. Brandy and money distributed judiciously by the governor, had worked a great change in the minds of the garrison. The soldiers could not refuse to acknowledge the sovereign who ordered them daily such marks of her bounty. Sure of success in this quarter, Catharine hastened her journey to Mosco, for the purpose of celebrating her coronation in that ancient capital of the empire. But previous to her departure from St. Petersburg, she assembled the regiments of the guards who had seated her on the throne, and gave them further assurances of her approbation. She left them under the command of the hetman Razumoffsky and prince Volkonsky, bestowed the government of the city on count Bruce, on whose fidelity she could rely, and charged Alexèy Orloff to watch over all with his usual activity.

The empress chose for her attendants on the journey Gregory Orloff, the old chancellor Bestucheff, count Stroganoff; in short, the greater part of the nobles who had shewn themselves the most devoted to her, as well as those whose absence she had reason to dread. Above all, she neglected not to take with her the young grand duke Paul Petrovitch and the principal ladies of the court.

This

This numerous cavalcade made its entrance with pomp into Mosco. But notwithstanding the money that had been previously distributed, it was received without any tokens of public welcome, without acclamation. Catharine too easily perceived, by this solitude and silence, that her presence was disagreeable to the people. She nevertheless repaired to the chapel of the tzars, where she lavished her flatteries on the archbishop and the popes; and she was crowned in the presence of the soldiery and the people of the court. The crowd, which retired at the approach of the empress, ran every where to meet the grand duke, and mingled with the emotions of tenderness they felt for the child, a visible concern for the misfortunes of his father. Catharine, dissatisfied with Mosco, industriously concealed her chagrin; and attending only to the necessary delays, retook the road to Petersburg.

The number of promotions, presents, &c. that were made on occasion of the coronation, and which mostly fell to the share of her adherents in the late revolution, need not here be particularized. During her stay at Mosco she honoured that ancient capital by issuing several proclamations from it; and to flatter the mili-



tary, which had been neglected by Peter, she published a manifesto, on the day of her coronation, in praise of the troops that had fought against Prussia, and caused a half-year's pay to be given to the subalterns and common soldiers who had been present at the victorious battles of Paltzig, or Kai or Zullichau, and at Frankfort or Kunersdorf. Of each of the four regiments of life-guards, the Préobajenskoy, Simeonofsky, Ismaïlofsky, and the horse guard, the empress appointed herself colonel. General-adjutant Gregory Orloff was made lieutenant-colonel of the last regiment; of the first, his brother Alexèy; of the third, Feodor, captain of the Simeonofsky; and the fourth, Vladimir, lieutenant of the Ismaïlofsky guards.

Catharine now put off all constraint. The monks, who had long favoured her projects, and to whom she had often promised a restoration of the possessions they had been despoiled of by her husband, vainly recalled to her mind their services and her promises. She perceived that it would not be prudent to let them resume an ascendant, which might prove as dangerous as it had been serviceable to her; and instead of revoking the edict of Peter III. she referred it to the examination of a synod, composed of persons

implicitly subservient to her will. The principal members of the clergy were secretly brought over; the rest were sacrificed; and, animated with sacred fury, vowed revenge against their former patron.

The rage of the priests could not fail of having some effect. They fanned the embers of sedition among the populace. They communicated the sparks of it to some soldiers. They called to mind their prince Ivan. They discovered that he was in St. Petersburg on the very day of the revolution; to which city Peter III. had mysteriously caused him to be brought, in the design of declaring him his successor; and from whence Catharine had since, not less mysteriously, had him conveyed; and they openly said, that it was to that unhappy prince that the throne belonged. They did more. They detected and published a manifesto, all the copies whereof the care of the friends of Catharine had not been able to suppress. Peter III. had caused it to be drawn up by the state-counsellor Volkoff, and had signed it with his hand. In a melancholy mood he had here put together all the weaknesses and faults of Catharine; and accusing her of adultery, declared that he would not acknowledge the young grand duke for his son, since he was the fruit of the scandalous

scandalous commerce of his wife with Soltikoff. This manifesto \*, composed with great force and eloquence, was artfully dispersed among the people, and soon found its way among the soldiers, who, for the most part, unable to conceive in what fit of distraction they had been drawn into the rebellion, already, as we have observed, repented their wickedness, or deplored the sad lot of a prince, mistaken but not malevolent, weak but not stupid; who had been barbarously put to death. He whom they lamented soon found them his avengers. Every thing seemed to portend a new revolution: but Gleboff, Passick, Teploff, and their emissaries, were not blind to all these proceedings. Suddenly an imperial proclamation came forth, forbidding the soldiers of the guards from assembling without orders received from their officers. Some of the most violent were imprisoned, and suffered the punishment of the knoot; others were banished into Siberia; terror for some time kept the rest in silence.

By thus chastising the regiments of the guards, the empress thought she should also shut the mouths of the priests. She refused even to temporize with the courtiers who displeased her,

\* Perhaps a forgery of the exasperated clergy.



and thought they had just claims to her gratitude. Ivan Schuvaloff had not openly taken part in the conspiracy; but he had promoted it beforehand by calumniating Peter III. and as soon as it broke out, he became its approver and support. By flattering the propensities of Catharine, he hoped to find that easy access with her which the empress Elizabeth had offered him. Schuvaloff was mistaken. He awakened the jealousy of Orloff; Catharine sent him word that his presence was not necessary at court \*: then, adding derision to harshness, she made him a present, as the reward of his services, of an old negro, who played the part of a buffoon about the palace †.

The

\* Peter III. on his accession to the throne, acted with greater lenity towards Ivan Schuvaloff, of whom he had so great a right to complain under the reign of Elizabeth. Not only he did not forbid him the court, but he made him a present of 10,000 imperials in gold, which the chamberlain had just received of the dying sovereign, and which, instigated by fear, he sent to the new emperor.

† It was said to be the same negro whom the tzar was desirous of having with him in prison. Being led to believe that his confinement would not be of long duration, before he was sent off to Germany, it seems he petitioned Catharine to let him have with him the negro who sometimes amused him, a dog that had long been a favourite with him, his violin, a bible, and some romances; adding that, disgusted

The general of artillery Villebois, who had yielded to a sentiment of tenderness for her rather than follow the line of his duty, now paid the forfeit of his mistake. Orloff was afraid of his talents, and wanted his employments. Villebois was dismissed, and the favourite appointed grand master of the artillery.

The pretensions of princess Dashkoff became odious to the empress. At the commencement of the revolution, princess Dashkoff had, like Catharine, put on the uniform of the guards, and marched at their head. She had sacrificed her father, her sister, her whole family, to the elevation of her friend \*; in some instances she had sacrificed herself. All the recompence she asked was the title of colonel of the regiment of Préobajensky. But Catharine answered her, with an ironical smile, that the academy would suit her better than a military corps. Princess Dashkoff, cruelly mortified at this reply, gave scope to her natural impetuosity, murmured among her friends of the ingratitude of Catharine, and

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grieved with the ill-treatment he had received from mankind, he was resolved for the future to lead a philosophical life. Nothing of this was granted him; and his wise plan of conduct was turned into ridicule.

\* This was the appellation mutually bestowed on each other by Catharine and princess Dashkoff.

*also mentioned in the text*

sought opportunities for shewing her resentment. The perfidious Odart, who observed this alteration in the behaviour of the princess, was the first to carry an account of it to the empress. Princess Dashkoff immediately received orders to retire to Mosco\*.

At the same time Catharine commissioned the piedmontese Odart to engage the ambassador of France to write to Voltaire, cautioning him to be on his guard against the vanity of princess Dashkoff, and to tell him, that if he should transmit to posterity the event that had just happened in Russia, he need only make mention of this young woman as having acted a very secondary part in a revolution, the success whereof was owing solely to the wisdom and courage of the empress†. The same commission was

\* Here she was delivered of a daughter, afterwards married to M. de Tscherbini; a lady of remarkable accomplishments and the most agreeable manners. It is no wonder then if her society was frequented by all men of talents and literature from every court in Europe. After passing three or four years in travelling through various parts of Germany and the states of Italy, madame Tscherbini afterwards took up her residence at Warsaw; but since the commencement of the reign of Paul I. she is gone to reside with her mother at her retirement in the vicinity of Mosco.

† M. de Breteuil rather went beyond his commission, by adding in his letter: "C'est pousser bien loin la jalousie & la hardiesse de l'ingratitude."

given



given to her ambassadors at London and at Paris \*.

The archbishop of Novgorod, one of the principal instruments in the revolution; and who had the most assisted in diminishing the privileges of the monks, having been gained over by money and promises, found all at once that his towering hopes were frustrated. When Catharine had no longer any need of his services, she presently dismissed him; and he was obliged to take back with him his rage and disgrace to a clergy who hated him, and a people who despised his ambition.

In the mean time Poniatofsky had learned, with inexpressible joy, the triumph of Catharine. Since his departure from St. Petersburg, he had kept up a regular correspondence with her, through the means of some obliging friends; and he placed the more dependence upon her, as, while she had a secret partiality for others, she openly affected a romantic constancy in her

\* Upwards of five-and-twenty years after that event, Catharine held the same language to a minister from a foreign power. It was her earnest desire that the history of her life and reign should have been undertaken by the historian of Charles V. Various suggestions were at several times given to that effect, and transmitted to Scotland; and for which all the necessary papers and documents were to be furnished by herself.

attachment to him. Perhaps Poniatofsky might flatter himself that he should soon be honoured with her hand whose heart he imagined had long been his. He advanced to the frontiers of Poland, and sent to ask permission of her majesty to pay a visit to her court. But she returned him for answer, that his presence was not necessary at Petersburg; and that she had different views in his behalf. Unwilling that he should be farther informed of her new connections, she continued to write to him in an affectionate style, and sometimes shed tears before the confidants\* of the Pole, in speaking of her passion for him. She complained that an inclination for Orloff was attributed to her, and attempted to ridicule him in their eyes.

But the period of fears was past. Orloff had done with mystery. Haughty and coarse in his manners, that favourite but awkwardly submitted to dissimulation; and he now made it appear that he had no longer occasion for an inconvenient precaution. Accustomed to live in the barracks and cabaks†, Orloff at times would drink pretty freely. One evening, being at supper with the empress, the hetman Razumoffsky, and some

\* M. de Mercy and M. de Breteuil.

† Tippling-houses frequented by the lower orders of people.

others of the court, and being flushed with wine, he talked of the ascendant he had over the guards; he boasted of having solely brought about the revolution; and added, that his power was so great, that if he chose to abuse it, he could destroy in one month his own work, and dethrone the empress. "You might do so in "one month," returned the hetman, smiling at his insolence; "but, my friend, within a fortnight after we would have hanged you!" The other courtiers seemed offended; but the favour of Orloff was not diminished.

The attachment of Catharine to her favourite arose more from policy than affection. She knew his activity, his vehemence, his boldness; and she could neither arm herself against him by an empty pride, nor prefer to him courtiers doubtless more polite, but almost all without talents, and destitute of courage. Less gracious towards the other conspirators, who were only subaltern officers, and whom she had already sufficiently rewarded, she removed them by degrees from the court, leaving them to return to their soldier-like course of life, and their obscure libertinism. It may be that she would have done better to have kept on the mask a little longer\*.

The

\* Some persons made a handle of this behaviour to charge her with ingratitude and selfishness. The state counsellor Brodorf,



The chastisement of the soldiers who were the first in the mutiny had not entirely quelled the spirit of revolt. The removal of the archbishop of Novgorod and princess Dashkoff, the unsettled health of the young grand duke\*, the pity shewn by all ranks of people for prince Ivan; all furnished a handle to discontents, which the popes dexterously employed for inciting and irritating the people. There was a general fermentation in the barracks. The danger became even so imminent, that her majesty was thought, during a whole day †, to be in extreme hazard of experiencing the fate of her husband. But her courage never forsook her. Without calling her council, she took private measures for calming the revolt; and when the hetman Razumoffky, Bestucheff, Panin, Gleboff, with

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Brodorf, private secretary to the tzar, and who had often prevented that prince from shewing his resentment against Catharine, spoke of it in these terms: "The empress thinks  
 " it a sufficient happiness to be permitted to serve her, and  
 " that it is recompence enough to have the honour which she  
 " supposes it should be reckoned; and when she has made  
 " what use she wanted of any one, or of which she thought  
 " him capable, she does with him as we do with an orange,  
 " after sucking out the juice we throw the peel out at  
 " window."

\* He was attacked with a sort of scorbutic complaint.

† It was some time after her return from Mosco.

several

several other members of the senate, presented themselves to her, to testify their uneasiness, she said to them, with that dignity which was peculiar to her: "Why are you alarmed? Think  
" ye that I am afraid to face the danger? or  
" rather, are you afraid that I know not how to  
" overcome it? Recollect that you have seen  
" me, in moments more terrible than these, in  
" full possession of the whole vigour of my  
" mind; and that I can support the most cruel  
" reverses of Fortune with as much serenity as  
" I have supported her favours. A few factious  
" spirits, a few mutinous soldiers, are to de-  
" prive me of a crown that I accepted with re-  
" luctance\*, and only as the means of deliver-  
" ing the russian nation from the miseries with  
" which it was threatened! I know not with what  
" pretence they colour their insolence; I know  
" not on what means they rely; but, I say it  
" again, they cause me no alarm. That Pro-  
" vidence which has called me to reign, will  
" preserve me for the glory and the happiness of  
" the empire; and that almighty arm which has  
" hitherto been my defence will now confound  
" my foes."

\* It is certain that Catharine expressed herself in these very terms, and that even in the presence of some of her accomplices.

The Orloffs, in the mean time, neglected nothing for pacifying the guards; and presents softened those whom speeches and promises could not appease. When their fidelity was again secured, four-and-twenty of their officers were arrested and tried. The four principal ringleaders\* were declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to be quartered. But Catharine, thinking that less benefit was likely to accrue from leaving them to their sentence, commuted their punishment into a banishment to Siberia; and wishing, at the same time, to attempt at inspiring the Russians with some dread of infamy, a dread which has so much influence in other nations, she caused the four officers to be degraded, and scourged by the hand of the common executioner.

While Catharine was thus managing her subjects, she displayed to foreign courts all the greatness of her character. The ambassador of France solicited her in vain for obtaining a reversal similar to those granted by Elizabeth and Peter III. at their accession to the throne,

\* These were the three brothers Gourieff, officers in the ismailoffsky regiment of guards, and Arouscheff, an officer of the regiment of Ingria or Ingerlandskoi. A brother of the latter, serjeant in the same regiment, was also in the plot, but was not subjected to the same punishment.



the purport of which was to prove that the title of empress changed absolutely nothing in the ceremonial between the two courts; and persisted in the refusal, notwithstanding the difficulties it might occasion\*. In a word, she declared that the ceremonial should not be changed; but that there should never more be any reversal at the commencement of a new reign†. Nevertheless she gave secret instructions to several of her ambassadors to take precedence of that from France, whenever occasion should offer‡.

The empress, always combining policy with firmness, found means to sooth the most dan-

\* These difficulties were not the only ones M. de Breteuil had with Catharine; and it may not be useless to mention the grave minutiae in which ambassadors are sometimes employed. The custom is, that women as well as men kiss the hand of the empress. M. de Breteuil had the vanity to insist that his lady, rather than conform to that custom, should abstain from appearing at court. He made several remonstrances on this subject. Catharine held out; and that madame de Breteuil might not die of vexation in her hôtel, the ambassador was obliged to submit. However, by a grand stroke of policy, he recommended to his lady not to kiss her majesty's hand, but only to pretend to do so.

† See the declaration in the appendix.

‡ The dispute that happened between the duc de Châtelet and count Chernicheff, ambassador from Russia to the court of St. James's, is well known.

gerous

gerous of the priests, and to put a stop to the cabals of the monks. She recalled to court princess Dashkoff, whose influence and enterprises at Mosco might disturb the tranquillity of the empire. She sent away the piedmontese Odart, whose continual informations had rendered him odious to all the court. Her praise was refounded, by the trumpet of fame, from one end of Europe to the other, and reverberated to Petersburg. The health of the young grand duke was re-established. The promising expectations that were justly raised by the good conduct of that prince, drew off all eyes from the prison of the unfortunate Ivan; and the Russians accommodated themselves to a yoke which they had attempted in vain to shake off.

Ambition did not extinguish the love of pleasure in the breast of Catharine. It was even by the latter that she gained more and more the attachment of her courtiers; but she could quit her pleasures to engage in the most serious affairs, and apply to the most arduous concerns of government. She assisted at all the deliberations of the council, read the dispatches from her ambassadors, either dictated or minuted with her own hand the answers that were to be sent to them, and afterwards attended to all the particulars of their execution. Jealous of solid  
renown,

renown, she set before her the example of those illustrious monarchs who effaced their weaknesses by the grandeur of their exploits; and, with the infirmities of men, merited and obtained the grateful acknowledgments of all succeeding times, as the friends and benefactors of the human race. She followed those maxims which she frequently quoted: "We should be constant in our plans," said she. "It is better to do amiss, than to alter our purpose. None but fools are irresolute."

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### CHAP. III.

*Catharine is occupied in schemes of aggrandisement.*

*—She supports Biren in Courland.—Panin is desirous of changing the form of the russian government.—Bestucheff dissuades the empress from it, and wishes to induce her to marry Gregory Orloff.—A plot concerted at Mosco against the life of Orloff.—A conspiracy against the empress.—Answer of princess Dashkoff.—Poniatofsky desirous of coming to Russia, &c.—Occurrences of 1762 and 1763.*

**ALL** sovereigns have their private histories: but the anecdotes of their domestic concerns are  
in



in some instances not so well authenticated, and in others not of such a nature as to render them proper objects of history. The true life of a monarch consists in the actions which he performs in the capacity of monarch; especially if he rule with unlimited sway, and for the most part govern in his own person: both circumstances meet in Catharine. But though ordinances, laws, institutions at home, influence on foreign countries, wars, treaties of peace, properly form the subject of the biography of a mighty potentate; yet accounts of occurrences that regard his own person also deserve to be interwoven, as often as they give rise to greater events, or are any otherwise inseparably connected with public history.

The bloody war carried on against Frederic, continued to rage in the rest of Europe. Russia had just separated from that formidable league, and Sweden was following her example. Peter had not merely put an end to hostilities, and restored to the king the territory of East-Prussia, which had been conquered by the russian arms; but he had even ordered his troops to join the army of that prince, to fight under him as allies, against the remaining confederated powers. The latter relation thus immediately ceased, and it was of the utmost importance to know what resolutions would now be adopted by Catharine. For, though the russian army under Elizabeth had per-  
formed

formed so little in comparison of what might have been reasonably expected from their numbers and force, yet Russia was a very formidable enemy, to whom Frederic, in spite of all the resources of his fertile genius, must at length have submitted, especially if the bravery of the soldiers should be properly enforced by a better command.

Frederic had been Peter's friend, was acquainted with all his sentiments and plans, had imparted to him counsel, and maintained a confidential correspondence with him. Could it be expected that his successor should have much inclination and confidence for the friend of him whom she had deposed from the throne? Was it not probable that he was informed, perhaps even approved of the measures that the emperor had taken in regard to Catharine, and for the preventing of which she had undertaken that very step? Frederic had indeed been Peter's friend; but a worthy and paternal friend, an experienced and generous monitor. He had the highest reason to be devoted to the emperor with the sincerest attachment; but for bestowing a flattering approbation on what he did not hold to be right, Frederic was too great and too wise. With tender concern he beheld Peter giving the rein to his passions, and exerted all the influence of his friendship to reduce him to a better conduct.

duct. His letters abounded with admonitions to the restoration of domestic concord, and the re-establishment of peace in the imperial family. Catharine read them, and was convinced of the persevering good-will of the great prince, to whom she was indebted for the first possibility of obtaining the russian crown\*. Frederic had even left nothing untried to dissuade the czar from his violent resolution of declaring war against Denmark: at length, however, a congress was appointed at Berlin, in order to bring all differences to an accommodation.

The negotiation went on with success, and ended happily. Catharine therefore ratified the peace with Prussia and with Denmark.

Russia then enjoyed a peace with foreign powers, which had been begun by the unfortunate Peter III. and which Catharine had now

\* On perusing these letters the empress burst into tears of gratitude, and made in consequence the strongest declarations in favour of this prince. They were not without effect. Orders had been given with relation to Prussia, which threatened a renewal of hostilities. They were soon suspended. The army of the Russians was indeed separated from that of Prussia; but all the important places, which the Russians had, with so much bloodshed, and through so many difficulties, acquired, and which gave them the command of every thing else that remained to the king, were faithfully restored.

confirmed:



confirmed: but the interior of the empire, in various parts, exhibited signs of fermentation. Neither the severe sentence pronounced against the four principal leaders of the tumult of the guards, nor the assumed clemency of the empress, were able to stifle those sentiments of hatred and vengeance which the view of a great act of injustice never fails to inspire.

Though Catharine perhaps had no great reason to suspect that her subjects were not perfectly satisfied with the methods by which the late revolution had been effected, yet she thought it expedient to call off their attention from a recent event of such magnitude and importance by brilliant novelties, and successful enterprises. But she also knew that too many obstacles were opposed to these enterprises, and that the penury of her finances as well as the dictates of policy impelled her to peace.

With regard to any offensive intentions against Russia, they have long since ceased to compose a part in the politics of any power whatever. Notwithstanding her permanent strength, and an occasional exertion of it, that are very menacing, it does not appear that there has, even once, been a plan seriously thought on for the reduction of the greatness of Russia, ever since the time of Charles XII. which was the period of

her entering into the circle of our political system. And this was rather an attempt to crush her in her infancy, than a plan to obstruct her further growth, when once become formidable.

From that time she has been growing (not so much, perhaps, as might be expected in learning and the arts, but, certainly) to a very high degree in substantial power, and in all the resources that support it; a strong military force, an increasing commerce, prudent, because, for the most part, a lucrative system of negotiation; and an unbounded influence over those nations with whom she has the nearest connection.

Her friendship has been much sought, and generally paid for. Her armies have been kept up at very considerable numbers; and if her troops have not improved, the last war evidently demonstrated that they had not at all declined from that discipline to which they were formed by Peter the great. That commerce, too, of which he was the founder, had been far from languishing since his death; and the balance of trade was in her favour with, perhaps, all the nations with whom she has any intercourse. The emulation which, for this century past, has subsisted amongst all the maritime countries in augmenting their marine, has, without the exertion of any deep policy on her side, operated powerfully

powerfully in her favour; as nature has made her the great magazine of naval stores to Europe.

Nothing shews more clearly, that Russia has the strongest political stamina, than that her condition is such as we have described it, whilst her government has undergone very frequent shocks and sudden revolutions, whilst the throne was seldom established with great security to the possessor, and never provided with any sound and invariable principle of succession.

At present it could not be said that Russia was much improved in these particulars. On the contrary, nothing could be more critical than the situation of that government.

The empress immediately applied with extreme assiduity and care to the administration of her vast estates, the advancement of commerce, the augmentation of the marine, and especially to the means of recovering the finances, without being reduced to the necessity of observing a parsimonious œconomy. Her grand ideas of the sovereignty of Russia permitted her not to renounce that oriental magnificence, for which, from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, the court of St. Petersburg had been famous throughout the world. This luxury might likewise seem the more necessary as an object of attraction to the notice of the public both at home



and abroad, till she could excite its astonishment by the splendour of conquests.

After engaging in business with her ministers, her majesty would frequently converse, and always in private, one while with Bestucheff and at another with Munich. With one she studied politics and the resources of the several courts of Europe; the other communicated to her the plan he had been meditating in his exile in Siberia, for driving the Turks from Constantinople, a plan singularly gratifying to the aspiring mind of Catharine, and which, thirty years after, seemed to be on the point of being carried to effect.

Her first cares were directed to domestic regulations. The style in all her ordinances has something uncommonly confidential and open: the subjects hear the voice of a careful mother, without feeling themselves treated like helpless children; on the contrary they all have a tendency to bring them to liberty. She frequently talks of the duties of sovereigns, and particularly of what the empress esteems her own. For instance, in her first manifesto, dated July 6, 1762, immediately on her accession to the throne: "It is thus," says the empress, "without spilling one drop of blood, that we have ascended the russian throne, by the assist-  
"ance

“ance of God, and the approving suffrages  
“of our beloved country.—Humbly adoring  
“the decrees of Divine Providence, we assure  
“our faithful subjects, that we will not fail, by  
“night and by day, to invoke the Most High to  
“bless our sceptre, and enable us to wield it for  
“the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the  
“security and defence of our dear country, and  
“the equal administration of justice; as well as  
“to put an end to all miseries, iniquities, and  
“violences, by strengthening and fortifying our  
“heart for the public good. And as we ar-  
“dently wish to prove effectually how far we  
“merit the reciprocal love of our people, for  
“whose happiness we acknowledge our throne  
“to be established, we solemnly promise on our  
“imperial word, to make such arrangements in  
“the empire as that the government may be  
“endued with an intrinsic force to support itself  
“within limited and proper bounds; and each  
“department of the state provided with whole-  
“some laws and regulations, sufficient to the  
“preservation of good order, at all times, and  
“in all circumstances.

“By which means we hope henceforward  
“to establish the empire and our sovereign  
“power, (however they may have been here-  
“tofore weakened,) in such a manner as to

“ comfort the discouraged hearts of all true  
“ patriots. Not entertaining the least doubt,  
“ that all our loving subjects will, as well for the  
“ salvation of their own souls, as for the honour  
“ of religion, inviolably observe the oath they  
“ have sworn in the presence of Almighty God;  
“ we thereupon assure them of our imperial  
“ favour.”

Again in the ukaufe of the 29th of July in the same year: “ Not only all that we have or  
“ may have, but also our life itself, we have  
“ devoted to our dear country. We value no-  
“ thing on our own account; we serve not  
“ ourself; but we labour with all pains, with all  
“ diligence and care, for the glory and happiness  
“ of our people.”

In a manifesto of the 17th of July, the empress publicly and solemnly promised to employ her principal care to the maintenance of justice. Under date of the 29th she informed the people of her having received account that a certain registrator of the government-chancery of Novgorod, named Jacob Rember, had taken money for administering the oath of allegiance; for which she had banished him for life to Siberia: and on that occasion issued a severe decree against bribery and extortion. The picture she here draws of the state of things is truly alarming:

“ If



“ If any one is desirous of an office, he must  
“ pay for it ; if any one wishes to defend himself  
“ from slander, he must do it with money ;  
“ if any one would slander another, he cor-  
“ roborates his malice by bribes. In this man-  
“ ner do many judges convert the sacred place  
“ where they are appointed to pronounce justice  
“ in our name, into a market. . . . . These ex-  
“ amples, of persons who, in the principal  
“ courts, have crept into office only for the  
“ purpose of screening themselves from punish-  
“ ment, are imitated, particularly in remote  
“ parts of the empire, even by judges and offi-  
“ cers of the lowest orders, to the vexation  
“ and oppression of poor people ; practising the  
“ arts of chicane, not only in cases of little im-  
“ portance, but under the form of law, which  
“ they wrongly interpret, and bringing ruin on  
“ the persons and families of even those who are  
“ rather deserving of our sovereign complacency  
“ and favour.”

By an ukaufe, dated Mosco, Oct. 13, the  
empress confirmed the abolition of the secret-  
inquisition-chancery : “ to the erection whereof  
“ the circumstances of the then times, and the  
“ yet uncivilized manners of the nation, had  
“ furnished occasion to the magnanimous and  
“ gracious monarch Peter the great ; but the  
“ necessity

“ necessity whereof had ever since been gradually  
“ diminishing.” An honourable and genuine  
testimony to the value of illumination. For, if  
the great reformer of the russian government had  
to contend against numerous insurrections and  
conspiracies; if even after his death, exclusively  
of inferior or abortive plots, within forty years  
not yet complete six revolutions beset the per-  
sons on and next the throne: surely no man will  
ascribe these convulsions to the high degree of  
mental cultivation in the country. Improving  
the nation upwards from the lower orders, and  
gentle treatment of it downwards from above,  
produced even here at length, by a natural con-  
sequence, internal peace and security. Catharine  
was sensible that she could obtain the love and  
attachment of the people by better means than  
by the encouragement of spies and informers; no  
sooner was she placed on the throne, but, superior  
to degrading fear, she completely put an end to  
the political inquisition.

“ Peter I. instituted (as we learn by the  
“ ukase) certain chanceries for secret criminal  
“ causes, under various names.” By these mea-  
sures he hoped to gain information of many  
schemes of mischief before their execution: but  
what a field was thus opened to the most danger-  
ous accusations! How formidable to every fa-  
mily

mily must the registries of this secret court of judicature have been, where the most innocent names might be inscribed with a false accusation annexed, and all refutation often rendered impossible by the profoundest concealment! Catharine now generously and nobly decreed, that “ The  
“ secret-inquisition-chancery is from now and for  
“ ever abolished. The acts of it shall be brought  
“ into the senate, and there sealed up in the  
“ archives consigned to everlasting oblivion.”—  
The capital crimes which were the matter of secret examination, were, high-treason, attempts against religion, treason against the state. But its jurisdiction gradually increased; criminal cases, properly lying within the province of the ordinary courts, being frequently brought hither, which the officious industry of the inquisitors very much encouraged; and particularly as it depended on the accuser to mix something in his accusation that might make it touch upon some one or other of the points above specified. Now, at the abolition of this inquisition, Catharine settled the practice to be pursued in future in the ordinary tribunals in charges of real state-crimes, and so plainly and distinctly determined the particular cases of delinquency against the person of the sovereign, and against the welfare of the state, that there was no longer any room for  
malicious



malicious or sinister interpretation. What went under the name of religious crimes were entirely suppressed.—The irregularity and severity of the proceedings had been truly shocking. The regular modes of evidence were held to be inadequate to the nature of a secret denunciation and a mysterious tribunal: imprisonment, nay even execution, was often the beginning of the process. The manner of process was usually this: when the accuser failed in every kind of proof, he must undergo the dreadful punishment of the knout three several times; after which his declaration was admitted as legal. The accused might deliver his objections in the same manner, unless he rather chose to be declared guilty. We cannot relate it without horror that this mode of proceeding was in use, without regard to station, age, or sex, and even more than once repeated when the judge wavered in his opinion between the opposite assertions thus proved by both parties. But now, if the accuser had some plausible ground in his behalf, then the accused had a more cruel coercion to undergo. Catharine therefore ordained that the truth should be investigated entirely without torture; and, with Frederic of Prussia, was likewise in this respect a model for the rest of Europe. Her criminal laws throughout breathe a mild and gentle spirit:

she

she had not, like Elizabeth, made a vow to punish no one with death; for why should a philosophical character have recourse to so mechanical a compulsion to perseverance in its principles? But during her long reign a sentence of death was extremely rare.

The secret-inquisition was a desirable instrument for ill-disposed persons to employ in the gratification of the sordid passions of envy and revenge against their betters. But, to the honour of the nation be it said, in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, such informations were becoming less frequent from day to day: only among the lower classes, among servants, vassals, nay, to the destruction of all subordination, even among sailors and soldiers, while suffering some (frequently well-deserved) chastisement, or had cherished some grudge against their superiors, the custom still subsisted to make themselves formidable by the mischief it enabled them to commit; on which account Peter III. in February published his ukase. The practice of the populace on such occasions, was, to *cry out the word*; which signified, I have a secret of importance to discover of somebody, and now mean to point out who it is. The most horrible, and among them the most ridiculous stories are related of the application of this custom. A patient

patient in the hospital employed it to prevent an operation the surgeon was about to perform. The sound was so awful and tremendous, that if, in the midst of a great crowd, any one called out, "The word," all present turned pale, and immediately separated, running and crossing themselves as fast as they could. Persons of consequence, a master who had punished his servant, must instantly stop short in the street, and go with him to the next guard-house, demanding of the officers to be both sent to prison together.—Catharine thus provided against this grievance: "The odious expression, *to cry the word* (slovo i delo) shall henceforth have no signification; every one is forbidden to use it. If any person, notwithstanding this prohibition, shall, in drunkenness, in quarrel, or to avoid lawful correction, presume to employ it, such person shall be so punished on the spot, as the police usually punishes vagabonds and disturbers of the public peace.

"If nevertheless, lazy, wicked, and worthless persons, soldiers, sailors, vassals, boors, workmen in manufactories and shops, should yet be found who shall contravene this declaration of our will, such informer shall be taken into custody [by a civil or military officer], and first interrogated whether he understands the

" two



“ two points abovementioned [crimes against  
“ the sovereign and the state] in their true  
“ import. If it be found that he understands  
“ them in their true import, and insists that  
“ what he has to deliver really relates to these  
“ two points; he shall be directly asked in what  
“ the matter itself consists. If he declares it,  
“ but can neither bring proofs nor produce evidence,  
“ nor point out any circumstances to  
“ render his declaration credible, he shall be  
“ earnestly admonished, &c. If after all these  
“ cautions and admonitions, he will not desist  
“ from his assertion, then he shall be confined  
“ for two whole days without having any thing  
“ to eat or to drink, but left all that time alone,  
“ to collect himself, and to consider; and after  
“ the expiration of that term he shall expressly  
“ be asked whether, &c. Does he now confirm  
“ anew what he had before asserted; in  
“ such case the informer shall be sent, under  
“ close custody, according to the distance of the  
“ place, either to the senate in St. Petersburg,  
“ or to Mosco, or to the nearest government-  
“ chancery.”

The wisdom apparent in the whole (too long  
for our purpose) of this mild and provident ordinance,  
and especially as founded on the nature  
of the human mind and the condition of the

country, demands the highest admiration: to shut up the informer of the lower class of people two days long without the smallest nourishment, is a precept always strictly observed, and has very often been attended with this consequence, that the rash informer, having slept off his intoxication, or stifled his passion, or upon maturer consideration in solitude and silence, has retracted his accusation.

Catharine declared, by a manifesto, that colonists shall find welcome and support in her country: several foreigners, therefore, presently began to migrate thither. Whereupon, in August 1763, she made more specific regulations in relation to them, particularly by instituting the tutelary chancery (a chancery for the guardianship or protection of foreigners). The next step she took in this behalf was to point out by name such districts as were proper for agriculture and hitherto unoccupied, with particular notices of what was forest, arable land, meadow land, &c. what allotments bordered upon rivers, and what the fisheries might yield. Thus, in the government of Tobolsk, on the Barabinskoï steppe, several hundred thousand desätines\* of fertile soil, and another large tract of land with several

\* See before, p. 53, 54.

rivers running through it. In the government of Astrakhan, from Saratof on the Volga upwards, above 34,000 desættines; on the Volga from Saratof downwards, above 36,000. In the government of Orenburg, portions of land for some thousand families. In the territory of Bielgorod, free lands for some hundred farms.— But not merely to the cultivation of such districts were foreigners encouraged, but to settle for general purposes in the russian empire, in whatever town they would, as merchants, artificers, or however else. The proclamation sets forth, that  
“ any one who is destitute shall receive money  
“ for the expences of the journey, and shall be  
“ forwarded at the charge of the crown. On  
“ his arrival he shall receive a competent assist-  
“ ance; and, if he want it, even an advance of  
“ a capital, free of interest for 10 years. All  
“ that he brings for his own use is duty free;  
“ even for sale, a family may introduce to the  
“ value of 300 rubles. The stranger is ex-  
“ empt from all service either military or civil;  
“ even from all taxes and imposts for a certain  
“ time: in Mosco, Petersburg, and the livonian  
“ towns, he enjoys five free years; in the inland  
“ towns, ten; on the hitherto uncultivated dis-  
“ tricts, thirty. In these new tracts of land, the  
“ colonists live according to their own good-  
VOL. I. A A “ will,



“ will, under their own jurisdiction, without any  
“ participation or cognizance of the imperial  
“ officers. All religions are tolerated.” The  
empress at once granted to the tutelary chancery  
an annual revenue of 200,000 rubles. More-  
over, for colonists in the government of Astrak-  
han, a clergyman of every christian sect, a parish-  
clerk, a physician, a surgeon, an apothecary, &c.  
to be paid by the crown.

Scarcely had this inviting voice resounded  
over Germany through the organs of the several  
ministers, than hundreds and thousands flocked  
to take possession of the promised land on the  
shores of the Volga and the Samara. For it must  
be confessed that in Germany great numbers of  
people are very reasonably dissatisfied with their  
condition, sighing under the pressure of religion,  
of justice, or of finance, or of all the three at  
once; and there are certainly many fertile, beau-  
tiful, and highly improvable tracts of country in  
the before-mentioned districts. Individuals, and  
whole families, numerous in women and children,  
people of tolerable circumstances, beggars, pro-  
jectors, vagabonds, literati, artificers, mechanics,  
old and young, set out in haste to be stowed on  
board of ship at Lubeck and other maritime  
towns on the Baltic. Several of the petty princes  
of Germany at first issued prohibitions against  
these

these emigrations ; and their example was afterwards followed by others ; and it is not to be denied, that many of the persons employed in the colonial plan made use of some indirect means for enticing inconsiderate persons from their busineses. But it received the most effectual check from the reports that soon ran about concerning the new settlers themselves. Letters came full of complainings that their expectations were deceived. The inconveniencies of the journey, the ignorance of the language, the want of their customary accommodations, the harshness of many persons in office, might very well bring many of the colonists to repent of the rash step they had taken : others, who wanted only to live in idleness, wondered that they were to begin again to work, as it was exactly on that very account that they had left their home.—This whole method of settling colonies, however, is very far from being the best. A government most surely improves the country by regulations and institutions of a humane and gentle nature, without ostentation and noise ; wisdom and justice give spirit to the inhabitants, and increase the population ; thither the foreigner will go, that he may live and thrive under its fostering protection ; and only he who comes on this inducement proves a useful and estimable citizen.

Catharine understood and practised this better method of increasing the inhabitants of her country. But Europe expects to see, especially at the opening of a reign, splendid institutions announced in brilliant descriptions. Besides, in respect to those of which we are now speaking, very spacious districts entirely void of people make a great difference: in this case a mere proclamation may doubtless produce some beneficial effect; for the emigrants must come in large troops, that some may settle and multiply. —So it happened in Russia. Besides the Germans, settlers came from France, Poland, and Sweden. In the district of Saratof alone, these colonists amounted to upwards of 10,000 families. Indeed, in the year 1774, there were only about 6194, making 25,781 heads; but in the first ten years the loss is evidently the most considerable: those who remained, with such as have joined them since, give the most promising hopes of future progress. In the year 1760 the government had sent as settlers in the territory of Nertschinsk, adjacent to the borders of China, a stony and very cold province, but rich in gold and silver mines, persons ordered for exile and other punishments, with disorderly and lazy boors of the nobility, unserviceable recruits, &c. But as agriculture would not flourish there, Catharine assigned



assigned these people their abode in the government of Tobolsk \*; where there were, from 1769 to 1772, in general settled 10,799 full-grown males, 9716 women and children; consequently, all together, 20,515 persons. It is true they came originally from other parts of the empire; but in the places they came from they were useless and idle, whereas in their new residence they were obliged to work: then in provinces longer and better peopled the chasm they left was soon filled up; and all that was wanted was to bring a primitive race into desert regions. To this likewise contributed the event that happened in 1775, when the whole horde of saporagian kozaks, on the cataracts of the Dnieper, was entirely abolished and dispersed; and more recently, from the newly-conquered countries. Lithuania and Poland, a part of the inhabitants were conducted into the interior of the empire. A number of old greek families had formerly wandered from Russia into Podolia, and other polish provinces: Catharine called them back, and allotted them habitations in Siberia on the banks of the Irtysh and the Selenga. Individuals and whole tribes were likewise voluntarily

\* This government in Siberia deals chiefly in peltry and tallow; and there is still a great want of people.

coming from the rest of Europe and from middle Asia, particularly such as were dissatisfied with the governments under which they had lived; as was especially the case with many Greeks and Armenians.

In order to increase the population, or more properly to eradicate a physical and moral cause of depopulation, the empress also, at the proposal of lieutenant-general Betskoy, laid the foundation of the foundling and lying-in hospital at Mosco, and afterwards of another at St. Petersburg. Whatever may be advanced against foundling hospitals, experience is incontrovertibly in their favour.

Catharine also now raised the means of providing for the health of the subjects into a national concern: she founded in November, the medicinal college of the empire at St. Petersburg; which, in pursuance of a subsequent regulation, was placed immediately under the empress.

Catharine had sedulously applied to the most excellent and useful of all sciences, the study of mankind; and, as the true basis of it, had acquired the knowledge of herself. She understood so well her peculiar talents, her courage, and the whole extent of the benefits she might derive from her influence, that, talking confidentially

fidentially with a foreign minister\*, fitter to applaud her mistakes than to appreciate her genius, she asked him whether he thought that the peace just concluded at Hubertsburg† would be of long duration. The minister answered, that the exhaustion of the people and the wisdom of the sovereigns by whom they were governed seemed to promise a tranquillity of several years. But he added, that she was better able to judge than he, since by her sagacity she could appreciate the political system of the courts of Europe, and by her forces direct them at her will. Catharine then putting on an air of humility, said: "You think then that Europe  
" has at present its eyes fixed on me, and  
" that I have some weight in the principal  
" courts?" The answer could not fail of being in the affirmative. Catharine hearkened with condescension; then assuming the full display of imperial dignity: "I believe indeed," replied she, "that Russia merits attention. I have the  
" finest army in the world. I am rather short  
" of money, it is true; but I shall be abundantly  
" provided with it in a few years. If I gave the  
" reins to my inclination, I should have a  
" greater taste for war than for peace; but

\* M. de Breteuil.

† Between Austria and Prussia.



“ I am restrained by humanity, justice, and  
“ reason. However, I shall not be like the  
“ empress Elizabeth. I shall not allow myself  
“ to be pressed to make war: I shall enter  
“ upon it when it will prove advantageous to  
“ me; but never from complaisance to others.”

Her majesty added, that the world could not properly begin to form a judgment of her till after five years; that it required at least so much time to reduce her empire to order, and to gather the fruit of her cares; but that in the mean time she should behave with all the princes of Europe, like a finished coquette.

These words were strictly true. The minister imagined they were dictated by vanity. Nevertheless he did not venture otherwise to reply than by a flattering compliment.

The first trial that Catharine made of her influence, was in favour of Biren, who experienced some difficulties on the part of the senate at Mittau. On recalling the troops that were in Pomerania, her majesty sent orders to them to pass into Courland to support the pretensions of the duke, whom she patronized. She then caused another army to march into Poland, under the command of count Romantzoff, an army that was soon reinforced by 20,000 auxiliaries whom general Chernicheff headed under prussian colours,

During

During the long exile of Biren, the estates of Courland, considering him as lapsed from his title of duke, had elected in his place prince Charles of Saxony, son of Augustus III. king of Poland. This prince, supported by the authority of his father and by the wishes of the courish nation, seemed as if he should necessarily carry it against a competitor whose character for cruelty rendered him odious. But the presence of the russian armies easily put to silence the good-will that was entertained for duke Charles. Simolin\*, the envoy of Catharine, was soon able to dictate to the senate of Mittau laws for its sovereign; and a declaration promulgated at Mosco† in favour of Biren, by menacing the king of Poland with war, forced him to give the investiture of Courland to the despoiler of his son.

Satisfied with so great docility, Catharine employed her mediation with Maria Theresa and Frederic, to induce them to withdraw their troops from the hereditary dominions of the king of Poland: but she could not succeed. The empress-queen laid the blame on the king of Prussia, who did not fail to throw it back

\* The same who afterwards filled the character of ambassador at London and at Paris.

† The 31st of December.

upon her. Peace happily put an end to these acts of injustice.

In the mean time, Frederic, who had long contemplated the friendship of Catharine as an object that might eventually be of the utmost importance to him, and who therefore was desirous to gain it, was among the foremost to try to procure her attachment by a profusion of complaisance. He offered her the order of the black eagle, which she graciously accepted, and wore while she remained at Mosco. It was not possible that the empress could so soon have forgotten that the wearing of a prussian order had been imputed as a crime to her husband: but she was desirous of shewing to her subjects that she was not without consideration in foreign courts; and what had been a fault in him became in her a mark of ability.

Some new differences now rose between the court of Petersburg and that of Copenhagen, touching the administration of Holstein. By a treaty secretly concluded twelve years before \* between the king of Denmark and the king of Sweden, the latter had ceded to the former his rights to the regency of Holstein during the minority of the young grand-duke; for the

\* In 1750.



court of Denmark had for a long time coveted a principality so commodiously situated, and which she has since acquired. She beheld with concern the return of prince George, who had just taken the command of it in behalf of Russia. She even at first refused to acknowledge his authority. But Catharine threatened: the Danes were afraid of shortly seeing again the russian troops on their march to Holstein. The danish commissaries quitted Kiel, and an envoy extraordinary\* from Copenhagen came to Mosco to apologise for the king his master.

The court of Petersburg and that of Stockholm were at that time living in perfect harmony. United by the ties of blood they were alike in want of peace, and Russia as yet gave no symptoms of that enormous aggrandisement of power, with which, some years after, she struck terror into Sweden and the rest of its neighbours.

Sedately relying on the intentions of the princes of Europe, Catharine could not be so tranquil in regard to her subjects. She neglected however nothing that ought to have attached them to her. Generous by nature, she was now still more so from policy. The desire of augmenting the number of her dependents rendered

\* M. Hachthausen,

her even prodigal of her bounty, and her fears misguided her choice.

She shewed lenity to the friends of the deceased czar. She not only granted liberty to Gudovitch, to Volkoff, and to Milganoff, but gave the latter a body of troops to command, and to the second the lieutenancy of the government of Orenburg. Gudovitch would accept of nothing.

In the first months that followed the sanguinary death of Peter III. the empress had but little time to bestow a thought upon the horror it must have excited in the public mind: but reflection on the circumstance of owing her elevation to so flagrant a crime must occasionally have harassed her own; and this, with the incessant repetitions of petty conspiracies, kept her in continued disquiet. They were detected, they were defeated, but it was impossible to annihilate their origin; and her majesty was so much the more uneasy as she affected to dissemble her vexation.

Another secret source of affliction to her was, that since Gregory Orloff had been acknowledged as her favourite, men the most distinguished by their birth, jealous at the fortune of this minion or disgusted at his arrogance, kept aloof from the court. Catharine frequently saw none about her but rough soldiers, who strangely abused the rights they imagined they had to her gratitude.

gratitude. It was not their past services she was recompensing. Perhaps she would have willingly dispensed with them : but she was paying in advance for those they might still afford her; and her bounties, and the honours she devolved upon them only augmented their insolence, and sharpened their greediness. She sometimes, however, blushed at the deferences she thought herself obliged to shew them; and in order to excuse their defects, she ascribed to them qualities which they did not possess. "The life I lead is far from agreeable "to me," she one day observed. "I know "that I am surrounded by people of no education; but I am indebted to them for being "what I am. They are men of courage and "probity; and I am sure that they will never "betray me." One part of this confession could not be sincere. The accomplices of Catharine were not wanting in courage; but their probity was not very conspicuous.

Among these proud and brutal courtiers, Panin was almost the only one who distinguished himself by polished manners and a tolerably cultivated mind. Yet he enjoyed but a secondary influence. His thoughts were always turned on the aristocratic senate he had wanted Peter III. to establish; and he seized every opportunity for displaying this pretended advantage before those  
with



with whom he conversed. Observing, on some occasion, that Catharine seemed to be under an extraordinary alarm, he thought it a favourable moment for unfolding to her the whole of his project, and for inducing her to adopt it. After exaggerating to her the dangers to which he feared she was exposed, and the difficulty of avoiding the troubles inseparable from a usurpation, he added, that there was one way still of escaping them, and of immoveably fixing her throne; but that he was much afraid lest a false delicacy might prevent her from recurring to it. Catharine bid him explain. He immediately delivered to her the principles of a system of government, which a long experience of its inconveniences did not prevent him from admiring. "The sovereigns of this empire," proceeded he, "have hitherto uniformly enjoyed an unlimited power; but it is the very extent of that power which renders it dangerous to him in whom it is lodged, since it may at any time be usurped by some bold pretender, and the usurper is thenceforth above the laws. Trust me, madam, make the sacrifice of an absolute authority. Create a fixed and permanent council which will secure to you the crown. Solemnly declare that you renounce, for yourself and for your successors, the power of depriving at  
" pleasure

“ pleasure the members of that august body.  
“ Declare, that if they commit any crime or  
“ high misdemeanor, their peers alone shall  
“ have the right to judge and to condemn them,  
“ on accurate and severe informations. From  
“ the moment you shall adopt this prudent  
“ measure, it will be forgotten that you ob-  
“ tained the crown by violence, in the senti-  
“ ment that you intend to preserve it only by  
“ justice.”

Catharine, who was delighted with whatever was new or extraordinary, thought there was something sublime in the proposal, conceiving, that by renouncing the prerogative of absolute power, she should at once acquire immortal glory, and for ever conciliate the love of her subjects. She would doubtless have been in the right if she had resolved to render them progressively and equally free, and have given them a senate, the members whereof should be taken indifferently from all the several classes, and elected by the majority of suffrages. But to leave a whole people in the most degrading, the most cruel slavery, and to chuse by favour a senate from a privileged order, what was this but to set up twenty or thirty tyrants in the place of one sovereign? And is not the despotism of  
bodies

bodies always more terrible and more immoveable than that of individuals ?

However, Catharine charged Panin to commit his plan to paper and present it to her, expressing herself in such a manner as to lead him to imagine that she meant to put it in execution. Panin lost no time in obeying her commands ; and, in order more effectually to secure its success, he placed the name of Gregory Orloff at the head of those whom he destined to compose the new senate. The favourite seemed flattered with this distinction, but requested time to consider upon it ; and before he gave answer to Panin, he consulted Bestucheff, who, that he might continue to play his part, consented to enlighten by his experience him whom his sovereign should vouchsafe to honour. Bestucheff was too sensible to the value of a power which he had a long time directed, not to be shocked at the idea of seeing it drop from the hands of Catharine. He presented himself immediately to her majesty, expatiated with energy on the perils that accompanied the measure to which Panin was endeavouring to persuade her, and conjured her not to expose herself to a long repentance, by dividing an authority which she had acquired with so much trouble, and which

3

she



she would never recover if she suffered it to be ravished from her but for a single instant.

The empress easily perceived the wisdom of the old chancellor's advice, and promised to follow it. On appearing a second time before her, Panin found her already dissuaded. She did justice to his zeal, praised his sagacity, but owned to him that it was impossible for her to benefit by it. The minister was deeply mortified at so sudden a change. Forced to dissemble before Catharine, he gave vent to his ill-humour among his friends, and could not refrain from saying to one of them, on trusting him with these particulars: "If the empress is determined to rule alone, you will see what a sad reign we shall make of it." These words prove that Panin hearkened more to his resentment than to reason, or that he was very little capable of judging of Catharine.

1763. Panin, however, was not long in discovering that it was owing to Bestucheff alone that his enterprize had failed of success; and he found an opportunity to retaliate upon him, by defeating in his turn a scheme that the ambitious old man had formed to render himself more necessary. As every thing concurred to evince the great influence of Orloff, and Catharine seemed no longer desirous to conceal it, the artful

courtier insinuated to the favourite how glad he should be to see him emperor. He at once roused his ambition, and exalted his pride. "Gregory Gregorevitch," said he, "it is to  
"no purpose that Catharine has given you her  
"heart, unless she present you with her hand.  
"She knows with how much zeal and intrepidity  
"you have acted in her service. She knows  
"from what dangers you freed her to invest  
"her with the sovereign power. She cannot  
"then worthily reward you but by giving you a  
"share in that throne which she owes to your  
"prowess. Indeed why should she refuse it?  
"Who is better able than you to support that  
"throne against all attempts of conspirators to  
"overturn it? Who would be more agreeable  
"to the sovereign in the twofold capacity of  
"her admirer and her defender? Yes, I know  
"her well enough to be convinced that she  
"would consent to whatever you should dare to  
"propose. You should therefore lose no time  
"in taking advantage of the inconstant favour  
"of Fortune. To-morrow, perhaps, the opportunity may be past. Universal experience  
"proves, that attachments are not eternal.  
"Even death may remove her from your hopes;  
"and if you should not inherit her power,  
"such a misfortune would expose you to punish-  
"ment

" ment for what you have undertaken in her  
" behalf.

" I am sensible, however, that it might not  
" be proper for you to make the proposal.  
" Obstacles might probably be thrown in your  
" way, with which your delicacy would forbid  
" you to contend. A refusal might occasion  
" you a mutual perplexity. Trust yourself to  
" my long experience and my friendship. I  
" shall contrive to determine the empress her-  
" self to offer you her crown. I promise you  
" that I shall hazard no proposal that I am not  
" very certain of seeing accepted: but promise  
" me, on your part, to leave me to pursue my  
" own method, and that you will even feign an  
" ignorance of my proceedings."

Orloff listened to the aged chancellor with the most profound attention. Presumptuous and volatile, he fancied himself for a moment on the throne of the tzars; and, embracing Bestucheff, promised a compliance with all he desired.

Bestucheff the same day, having an opportunity of discoursing with the empress, artfully founded her on the subject. But Catharine, after much hesitation, concluded by telling the chancellor, that, however she might be inclined to favour his proposal, she could never resolve



upon taking a step that might meet with so many difficulties; and confessed that, on considering it maturely, she saw no way of making the attempt without giving umbrage to the empire.

The chancellor engaged to find out the means. He ingeniously composed, in the name of the russian nation, a petition; in which, after making a just though pompous eulogium on all that the empress had done for the glory and the happiness of her people, he called to mind the weak constitution of the young Paul Petrovitch, and the disquietudes caused by the frequent alterations in his health; and conjured Catharine to give the empire an additional testimony of her love, by sacrificing her own liberty to its welfare in taking a spouse.

In order to conceal his real intentions from those whom he designed should promote them, Bestucheff began by proposing prince Ivan, very sure that all those who should sign the petition would reject that unfortunate captive. At the same time Catharine, who sometimes gave the old courtier room to believe she was under his guidance, putting on the air of approving this proposal, afraid too that Ivan might suddenly be taken from prison and crowned, caused him to be conveyed from the castle of Schlusselfburg, and lodged in a monastery at Kolmogor,  
not

not far from Archangel; where, as though it had been intended to make him more sensible to the misfortune that awaited him, he was treated at first with the honours that were due to his rank, but was soon carried back very secretly to Schluffelburg-castle.

What the old chancellor had foreseen failed not to happen. On his presenting the petition to the clergy, twelve bishops, previously gained over, eagerly put their signatures to it, specifying that Catharine ought not to marry prince Ivan, because he might punish her for her benefactions, and pretend to stand indebted for the crown to his proper right alone. They at the same time requested that her majesty would condescend to choose, from among her subjects, him whom she should think the most worthy to participate in her throne.

A great number of general officers adhered to the sentiment of the bishops. But for the dexterity of Panin and the courage of the hetman Razumoffsky, and the chancellor Vorontzoff, the stratagem of Bestucheff would have succeeded, and Gregory Orloff had been emperor of all the Russias\*.

Count

\* Catharine, desirous of dignifying Orloff, that her marriage with him might appear less disproportionate, solicited the empress-queen to grant him a diploma of prince of the em-

Count Panin engaged Razumoffsky and Vorontzoff to represent to Catharine how humiliating the projected union would be, and how dangerous to her. The hetman spoke to her with the roughness of his character and the authority that his fortune and his services gave him. Vorontzoff, casting himself at her feet, intreated her not to engage in a marriage which would be attended with the greatest misfortunes. His remonstrances were very bold, and shewed him to possess a firmness of which he was not thought capable. But Catharine, who was never embarrassed, affected extreme surprise; and, after having thanked Razumoffsky for his friendship, and praised the noble courage of Vorontzoff, she protested that the idea of the marriage they so much dreaded had never once entered her mind; that it was positively without her knowledge that such an odious intrigue had been carried on; and that, as Bestucheff was the author of it, she would resent it on him. Nevertheless her majesty took care not to be severe with the old man, who, in perfect harmony with her, only sought to soothe her inclinations, and whom she thought it still necessary to indulge in his humours.

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pire. This being done, it was her intention to decorate him with the title of duke of Ingria, and of Carelia.

Bestucheff



Bestucheff thus saw his project fail without apparently receiving any shock to his influence. He was, on the contrary, every day better received by the empress and the favourite, while Vorontzoff experienced from them nothing but coldness. Thoroughly now convinced that too much zeal for the glory of Catharine was not always the means of pleasing her, and that his disgrace was already determined, Vorontzoff was eager to prevent a forced retreat by a voluntary exile. He gave out that his health was impaired by the labours of the cabinet; and under pretext of recovering it, he asked permission to travel for two years in foreign countries. The empress, who found his presence rather irksome, granted him leave with secret satisfaction; notwithstanding that she feigned a regret at his departure. In public she shewed him great respect and goodwill, and audibly intreated him to hasten his return to resume the functions of an administration which he filled, as she said, so successfully for the happiness of the empire.

In the mean time the apprehension of seeing Catharine bestow herself on the daring adventurer who had lent a hand to precipitate from the throne her unfortunate husband, occasioned violent murmurs. Several ineffectual plots were set on foot against her and her favourite.

One of them for a moment was on the point of succeeding. A guard stood at Orloff's door, as at that of the empress. One of the centinels, by means of a bribe, had promised to deliver him asleep to three of the conspirators. But the hour was wrongly marked; and when the conspirators appeared, the centinel who was to have seconded them, had already been relieved by another. This latter, astonished at seeing three men applying for admission into Orloff's apartment, made so much noise as to bring together others of the guards. The conspirators had but just time to escape under favour of the uniform they wore.

This movement spread alarm over the palace. Catharine was roused. Imagining that her life was not in safety at Mosco, she hastened to quit that city, and return to St. Petersburg. The day of her departure was signalized by demonstrations of insolent joy approaching to rage. Her cypher had been placed on a triumphal arch in the great place of Mosco: the populace tore it down, and broke it to pieces after having dragged it through the mire.

Catharine arrived at St. Petersburg the day of the anniversary of her accession to the throne. Well knowing that for overawing the minds of the vulgar, it is necessary often to dazzle their eyes,

eyes, she omitted nothing for rendering her entry magnificent and solemn. Her carriage was preceded by all the regiments of guards, and followed by those of the foreign ministers, and the numerous train of courtiers whom ambition and vanity had drawn to her suite. This pompous spectacle, however, had not the effect that Catharine had expected from it. It raised more astonishment than joy, and tended only to increase the irritation of the public mind. The number of malcontents augmented. Conspiracies were multiplied, and became more dangerous by the names of consequence that were associated to them. The public report counted among the enemies of Catharine the most powerful personages of the empire, and even those who had served her with the utmost assiduity and zeal. The hetman Razumoffky, count Panin, and his brother \*, were of this number; and it seemed certain that if these different conspirators could have turned their eyes on a prince worthy of being the central object of their wishes, Catharine would have lost the crown. But some wanted to raise Paul Petrovitch to the throne, while others were desirous of recalling the unhappy Ivan; and all embarrassed, all irresolute,

\* General Panin, brother of the minister, gained considerable reputation in the first turkish war.



they alike formed the plan of dethroning the empress, without agreeing on the successor to be given her.

Catharine, secretly advertised of the design of Panin and of Razumoffsky, was for a moment ready to have them arrested: but having only such evidence as was but little to be relied on, and suspicions in which she might be deceived, she felt, after all, that by an ill-timed severity against men of such high consideration, she ran the risk of occasioning a general insurrection. She thought it might be expedient to employ a little artifice: a means which had frequently been of use to her.

Although, shortly after the revolution which had placed her on the throne, she had repaid with seeming ingratitude the devotedness and fortitude of princess Dashkoff, and that even since she had been forced to recal her to court, she behaved to her with sufficient coolness, she now feigned all at once to wish to restore her to her confidence. She made no doubt that princess Dashkoff had a share in the plots that were hatching by her old friends. She knew her to possess a resolute soul; but she also knew that she was precipitate and imprudent. She was therefore in hopes of being able to draw out of her some confessions that might clear up her doubts,

doubts. She wrote her a very long letter, wherein, after lavishing upon her the most tender epithets, the most advantageous promises, and the most seductive flatteries, she conjured her, in the name of their long-standing friendship, to reveal to her what she knew of the recent conspiracies; assuring her, at the same time, that she would grant a full pardon to all that were concerned. Princess Dashkoff, nettled that Catharine should think to make of her an instrument of her vengeance, as she had made her that of her elevation, replied, in no more than four lines, to the four pages she had received from the empress. This was her answer: "Madam, I have heard nothing: but if I had heard any thing, I should take good care how I spoke of it. What is it you require of me? That I should expire on a scaffold? I am ready to mount it."

Astonished at so much haughtiness, and not hoping to conquer it, Catharine attempted to attach to her those whom she dared not to punish. Some of the subaltern conspirators, who had been arrested, and yet kept an obstinate silence on their accomplices, were banished to Siberia: but Panin and Razumoffsky received several additional marks of favour.

However,

However, as plots were incessantly renewing, and as the clemency exhibited towards the guilty seemed to harden them in guilt, Catharine declared that, for the future, she would not conform to the edict by which the empress Elizabeth had promised never to suffer a criminal to be sentenced to death. She thought it unhappily impossible to keep the Russians in order by any other means than by the dread of punishment. She afterwards saw that this dread was not a sufficient check to their excesses. In fact, the only means of diminishing the number of criminals is to disseminate instruction, solemnly to establish the principles of sound morality, and to honour those who put them in practice. While legislators have been for ever multiplying laws against vice, they have always been too negligent of making institutions in favour of virtue.

Catharine was invariably sensible of the benefits arising from such institutions, and neglected nothing of all that seemed likely to promise a tendency to the prosperity of her empire. At the very time when she had the strongest reasons to apprehend for the safety of her person, she was busied in all the particulars of government with as much assiduity and calmness as if her reign was to be everlasting. She founded colleges



leges and hospitals in every part of her empire. She encouraged commerce and industry; she ordered new ships of war to be put upon the stocks.

In regard to commerce, Peter III. on the 7th of April 1762, had issued an important and express decree: Catharine took it into consideration on the 11th of August, on the proposal of the senate, where she was present, found much of it to confirm, but likewise many things to omit and to improve; and executed on the same day, with her own hand, the imperial edict: in which it is said:—" On the whole surface of the  
" earth there is no country better adapted for  
" commerce than our empire. Russia has spacious harbours in Europe; and over land the  
" way is open through Poland to every region. Siberia extends, on one side, over all Asia;  
" and India is not so far remote from Orenburg; but on the other side it seems to touch  
" upon America. Across the Euxine is a passage, though as yet unexplored, to Ægypt  
" and Africa: and bountiful Providence has  
" blessed the extensive provinces of our empire  
" with such gifts of nature, as can as rarely be  
" found as they are wanted in all the four  
" quarters of the world."

During

During Catharine's reign these splendid advantages have been improved to an eminent degree. Courland on the Baltic, with its havens, was subjected by her to the russian sceptre; and on the opposite side of Europe the Euxine laves her extensive conquests: Otchakoff, Kherfon, the Krim, and the Kuban, bear witness to the force of her arms. The sails of her ships of commerce and of war are spread in the Mediterranean. On the greek islands the russian banners are displayed. Her troops opened a road into Ægypt, and there in 1772 fought in support of Ali-bey against the Turks. The free inhabitants of the extreme north-eastern point of Asia, the Tschuktsches, were at length obliged to submit; and a channel of no great width (the streights of Behring) here only divides the empire from America. A multitude of russian islands, of various dimensions, in the northern part of the southern ocean, the Kurilli and several additional acquisitions, connect it with other islands, and even with the continent of the fourth quarter of the world: nay, even upon that the Russians have got firm footing. The increase of navigation by these acquisitions, and the extremely lucrative commerce in the furs here procured, the costly skins of the sea-otter and other animals,

mals, is of the utmost consequence. The differences that arose with China in 1778 are at length compromised; and if no more caravans go from Mosco to Peking, yet the merchants of these two great empires prosecute their trade together, and perhaps better, in the frontier towns of Kiachta and Maimatshin. Orenburg in asiatic Russia is excellently situated for commercial intercourse with the east Indies: the caravans require only three months for the whole journey: accordingly, at the half-way thither, at Balk, a town in Bactriana or Chorasán, russian and east-indian caravans already meet together.

Well-founded as all this evidently is, yet we have seen that it is possible for unfavourable occurrences completely to annihilate the advantages of this whole situation, at least on a very important side. When, in the year 1788, Sweden, Poland, Prussia, the Turks, and an english fleet, had closely combined in a war against Russia, this great empire was in a manner cut off from all trade and commerce with the rest of Europe. So true it is, that the bare “ gifts of nature, “ wherewith Providence has blessed the extensive provinces of Russia,” are not able to procure her the balance; so greatly do the articles of finer manufacture and of luxury outweigh in commerce the indispensable necessities of life.

This



This Catharine knew very well towards the latter end of her reign ; and therefore prohibited, with unexampled severity, the importation of almost all wrought goods from abroad, which serve only to conveniency and pleasure.

Commercial regulations are naturally subject to alteration. Accordingly nothing more circumstantial can here be adduced on the subject. It will suffice to give a farther sketch, to shew the spirit of the laws. The corn trade is, in consideration of a moderate duty, entirely free ; only all exportation immediately ceases, when the market price in the country exceeds such a sum, which for the various provinces is differently settled :—a wise and plain regulation, which, it is well known, is the same in England. This limitation of the exportation does not attach to corn of the growth of Poland, which may at all times be shipped for the foreigner, in order not to oppress this branch of commerce. Siberia may never send corn out of the country. The condition of a stated market price in the country does not affect the exportation of linseed ; but of horned cattle it does. The port of Archangel is favoured equally with that of St. Petersburg. The export of fine and coarse linens, against the usual prohibition, permitted ; of linen yarn remained prohibited. Several monopolies be-

longing to private individuals and whole trading companies were abolished; indeed by an arbitrary step, but certainly with beneficial effect to the country: neither did the government exempt itself. The trade in rhubarb, in potashes, and wood-ashes, belonging exclusively to the crown, was now declared open to every one. An end was thenceforth put to the caravan trade of the crown to China; the contracting for the sea-dog fishery, other fisheries, and the tobacco trade; the monopoly of sugar-works, and of chintz manufactories; the exclusive right of one man to import foreign silk; the trading companies to Persia, China, and the Bucharèy; the company to the Euxine and the Mediterranean, from Temernikof, a town on the Don. Every person may freely trade in all these commodities and to all these countries. Only a limitation took place in the asiatic commerce, but to the security and the greater profit of the russian merchants themselves. To them only two ports were assigned on the Caspian, Baku and Sinfili, there to keep market, and wait the arrival of the persian merchants. It is farther regulated, that they must there tax the several commodities intended for Persia, the Bucharèy, &c. in the presence of the resident imperial consul: the like must be done by the merchants of Astrakhan

and Orenburg, and enter into a bond with one another not to sell any thing below the fixed price, under penalty of confiscation; that the foreigners may not profit by the spoiling of the market by the Russians themselves.

The tobacco trade was next declared free; proper measures were likewise taken in February 1763, conducive to the better culture of it in the Ukraine\*, where it may be made to flourish so well from the excellent quality of the soil.

The coinage was afterwards frequently altered. In December 1763 Catharine decreed, that the proportion of the gold to the silver coin should be as 1 to 15. An error almost general throughout Europe is, in the having of a twofold standard, as if they imagined it possible to fix by legislation a proportion that, from commerce and in its own nature, is always fluctuating. The gold shall be of a fineness of 88 solotniks; the silver of 72. Out of a pound of such gold shall be struck 31 imperials and 2 rubles  $88\frac{2}{3}$  copeeks; out of a pound of silver so alloyed 17 rubles  $6\frac{2}{3}$  copeeks. Siberia had a coinage (with the arms

\* The slavonian parent-wood is *Krai*, *the border*; and *u*, *on or near*. The primary import, therefore, of *Ukrainer* is *borderer*, from *ukraine*, *on the borders*. Hence the *Ukern* (in the mark Brandenburg), the *Krainer* and the *Ukrainer*.



of that kingdom, two wolves, which was not to be current beyond the confines of the government) assigned it, of the copper peculiar to the mines of Kolyvan, impregnated with gold and silver, which is obtained by the smelting away of the silver ore, the transport whereof would be too difficult, and its farther separation from the noble metals too expensive. The pood of this copper contains  $1\frac{3}{8}$  solotniks of fine gold, and  $31\frac{3}{8}$  solotniks of silver\*.

About this time Poniatofsky renewed his solicitations for permission to visit Petersburg. The empress would not listen to them, but assured him of her constant friendship, of which she promised to give him convincing proofs on all occasions. Nor was it long before she realized her promise.

Towards the end of this year Catharine gave a proper form to the supreme college of the empire, the directing senate, which had been instituted by Peter I. In order to give an easier, plainer, and more rapid course to the business of it, she divided the senate into six departments, whereof the four former should have their seat in St. Petersburg, and the two latter in Mosco. In some particulars she removed incumbrances, in others she made new regulations, and diffused

\* For the relative proportions of these weights, monies, &c. see before, p. 56. 58.

through the whole a spirit of simplicity and order.

Undoubtedly many of these new institutions were rather preparatory than finished works; undoubtedly several plans were sketched out by her, and even put in execution under her eyes, of which, in the far distant parts of her vast empire, no trace is to be seen of their existence; undoubtedly some things had more of show and a shining outside than of an exactly calculated utility. But only as preparatives, even only as reform in the more proximate sphere of action, even only as the display of a truly imperial magnificence, they could not be unattended by important consequences. All men saw that the comprehensive mind of Catharine embraced all objects; they were convinced of her activity and of her benevolence, (and what higher qualities can the ruler of a people possess?) of her treasures and her magnanimity. They were the capital towns, they were the colleges of the empire that gained another form, and which must naturally, though slowly, operate upon the provinces. A new vital spirit was infused into the nation, a more elevated impetus into all minds. To this greatly contributed even the personal reverence paid to the beautiful, the spirited woman, the glow of enthusiasm for the monarch whom foreigners praised,

praised, whom the universe admired. The court was brilliant and agreeable; in the expenditure of large sums, magnificence, taste, and lasting enjoyment were studied. Foundations for the cultivation of arts and literature, superb embellishments of the residence and other towns, regulations for use and convenience were manifest to every beholder. Milder and more amicable dispositions began to appear; industry and diligence were quickened, and by their means the comforts of life were more widely diffused; the nation was no longer dependent on the foreigner; and russian ships were seen riding at anchor in the ports of Cadiz and Leghorn.



## CHAP. IV.

*State of Poland from the time of the kings of the first race to the death of Augustus III.—Election of prince Poniatofsky.—Fresh conspiracy at St. Petersburg.—Journey of the empress into Livonia.—Assassination of prince Ivan in the castle of Schluffelburg.—Punishment of Mirovitch, and other events of 1763, 1764, &c.*

POLAND, which had sometimes acted so conspicuous a part in the politics of Europe, and which, from the extent of its territory, the fertility of its soil, the high spirit and courage of its inhabitants, seemed formed for acquiring a still greater preponderance, has lost, by the defects of its government, a part of the advantages it had received from nature,

This kingdom had long been under the influence of Russia; and that influence had become the more powerful under Catharine, as, independently of the army of Romantzoff, encamped on the banks of the Vistula, 50,000 men had taken up their quarters in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. Augustus III, declining in his health, as well from the irregularities of his life

as from the vexation occasioned him by the invasion of Saxony, was now verging fast to the grave. All such as had formed pretensions to the succession, accordingly began to examine their strength; and the court of Petersburg was the centre of their intrigues. The aspiring mind of Catharine was flattered at seeing herself the arbiter of these ambitious rivals. But, while she thought proper to foment their divisions and to encourage their hopes, she was secretly decided in her choice. She was in want of a king, whose weakness and servility she knew: she made choice of Poniatofsky.

It will not be useless here to cast an eye upon the state of that rich and unhappy country, which we shall see more than once exciting the ambition of Catharine, and which she long continued to harass, the better to prepare it for being usurped.

The history of Poland, like that of almost all the other countries of Europe, reaches back to an æra extremely remote, and filled with uncertainty. All that we know with tolerable precision is, that Poland at first was governed by a race of kings\*, whose power was nearly absolute. To this race succeeded the Piasts,

\* The race of Lesko.

(for so they usually call their native sovereigns,) who are thought to have been elective, but who, for several generations, preserved the crown in their family. The kingdom was frequently disturbed by the pretensions of the magnats, who combined against the monarch, and opposed to him a power which balanced that of the crown.

One of the last kings of the race of the Piaſts, Caſimir III. ſurnamed the great, or the father of the peasantry, reſſeſſed the dangerous and always turbulent authority of the grandees, by conferring a variety of privileges on the inferior nobleſſe, and by that means alarming them with a dangerous rivalſhip. But that prince, however addiſſed to juſtice, and how great ſoever his concern in behalf of the unhappy peaſants, was never able to mitigate the barbarous lot to which they are doomed in Poland.

Lewis of Hungary, nephew and ſucceſſor of Caſimir, was not in a capacity to benefit by the advantages that monarch had acquired, becauſe on beſtowing on him the crown, the nobility obliged him to ſubſcribe to burdensome conditions. On the death of Lewis, without leaving a male heir, that turbulent nobility made an offer of the throne to Ladislaus Yagellon, duke of Lithuania, and impoſed on him the ſame conditions as had been accepted by Lewis. One of these



these conditions was, not to raise subsidies without the consent of the diets. His successors were, equally with him, forced to be continually making new sacrifices for obtaining the imposts that were necessary to their government; and Sigismund Augustus was at length induced to consent \*, that at his death the crown should become absolutely elective. This prince, who had no son, was without difficulty brought to agree to make a declaration, by which he purchased his repose. In a short time afterwards a charter was framed †, which became the basis and guarantee of that privilege. The four principal articles of the charter were :

1. That the crown should be elective; and that the king should never appoint a successor during his lifetime.

2. That general diets should be assembled every two years.

3. That every nobleman of Poland should have the right of voting at the election of a king.

4. That if the king shall presume to infringe the laws, and to disavow the privileges of the

\* In the year 1550.

† Known under the name of *Pacta conventa*.

nation,

nation\*, the subjects shall be absolved from their oath of allegiance.

The privileges secured by this charter were still farther extended; and all the successors of Sigismund Augustus down to Stanislaus Poniatofsky inclusively, were only elected upon their swearing to maintain them. Could less then be expected from princes who received the crown as a matter of favour, and who, if they had not accepted it on these conditions, would have been obliged to forego it in favour of a less scrupulous competitor? The nobles, the more they increased their power, abused it the more. Not contented with freely granting their suffrages, they sold them. Henry de Valois was the first who purchased, by means of promises and gold, the throne of the Yagellons; means which have since only yielded to the terror of arms.

On every accession to the throne the nobility usurped some additional privilege. During the reign of John Casimir, the *liberum veto* was created. This was a right given to each nobleman singly to put a stop to the deliberation of a whole diet, and to dissolve it by the sole act of his will; a right which has been one of the prin-

\* That is to say, of the nobles; for the rest is counted for nothing.

principal sources of the troubles, the anarchy, and the total destruction of Poland.

But by such an extent of power as every nobleman had, we may form a judgment of that enjoyed by the palatines\*, the great officers, and, in general, all the wealthy Poles. Sometimes they raised regiments independent on the authority of the king; at other times they formed confederacies, which, under pretence of defending the laws, sowed sedition and revolt, and in the sacred name of liberty exercised the absurdest tyranny.

It is the blind ambition of the polish nobles that has been for three hundred years gradually consummating the ruin of their country. That

\* In Poland are 32 palatines, who are properly governors of provinces, 3 castellans, and 1 starost. Though the quality of the two latter be inferior to that of a palatine, yet there are four of them who possess the first ranks amongst the temporal nobles, the castellan of Cracow being the first of all. The office of a palatine is to lead the troops of his palatinate to the army; to preside in the assemblies of the nobility in his province; to set a price upon merchandizes and commodities; to take care that the weights and measures be not altered; and to judge and defend the jews. He has a vice-palatine under him, who must take an oath to him, and who ought to have an estate in land, which they call *possessionatus*. To these follow the order of nobility, who are alone capable of possessing all the offices and lands in the duchy and kingdom.

nation,



nation, naturally brave, which has often conquered the Ottomans, and which has given law to Prussia and to Russia, has not been able, since these dissensions, to resist any of the armies by which it has been attacked. The forces of the kings of Sweden, Charles Gustavus and Charles XII. alternately found it an easy prey; and from the moment that the Russians were able to oppose disciplined troops to its brilliant and licentious *pospolite*\*, they have found themselves in a capacity to dictate laws to the nation.

Under such circumstances the Poles called themselves free. But what sort of a freedom was that they enjoyed, even while they were exercising the boasted right of electing their kings? The age in which we live has produced examples to the contrary; and one† of the men

\* The military force of the Poles consists chiefly in the *pospolite*, that is, the whole body of the gentry, which, upon extraordinary occasions, the king and the national general can order into the field to serve for a limited time. The inconvenience and inutility of this military institution, in the present state of the art of war, need not be insisted on. They have also a standing army which ought to amount to about 40,000 men, but, from being undisciplined, irregular, and incomplete, it is a body altogether contemptible, especially the foot, as they consist almost wholly of their wretched peasants.

† Sarnisky.

who

who best understood their history, has defied them to shew but two instances of a free election.

There is scarcely a great potentate in Europe that has not had more or less influence in these elections: but for upwards of fifty years Russia has been the only power by which they have been actually directed.

Such was the situation of Poland when the death of Augustus III.\* revived the cabals of the pretenders to the throne, and furnished Catharine the means of displaying her political talents with the utmost effect. That sovereign, whom the courts of Vienna and Versailles were in hopes of detaching from Prussia, began their operations by artfully obtaining from those courts an assurance that they would not interfere in the affairs of Poland. In 1764, the marquis de Paulmy, ambassador from France at Warsaw, declared † at the diet, that Lewis XV. would have nothing to do in the election of the new king; and shortly after the count de Mercy held the same language on the part of Maria Theresa.

The promise of these two courts, however, was not sufficient for Catharine. She was de-

\* The 5th of October, 1763. † The 16th of March.

scious of some assurance that she should not be thwarted by that of Berlin: in this she succeeded. Frederic had long been soliciting her to sign a treaty of defensive alliance; and she coveted it the more as she had employed so much art in inducing him to desire it. Imagining that the delays which she made to the conclusion of this business arose only from the repugnance she had to a minister\* who had been the friend of her husband, the prussian monarch made choice of a plenipotentiary who should necessarily be more agreeable to that princess: he sent to St. Petersburg the count of Solms, who had married a princess of Anhalt-Bernburg, cousin-german to Catharine. The count de Solms was extremely well received by the empress, with whom he shortly after, in the name of the king of Prussia, concluded a treaty, subjoined to which was the secret article as follows:

“ It being for the interest of his majesty the king of  
“ Prussia and of her majesty the empress of all the Russias,  
“ to exert their utmost care and all their efforts for main-  
“ taining the republic of Poland in its state of free election,  
“ and that it should not be permitted to any one to render  
“ the said kingdom hereditary in his family, or to make  
“ himself absolute therein; his majesty the king of Prussia  
“ and her imperial majesty have promised and mutually en-  
“ gage themselves, in the most solemn manner, by this

\* The baron de Goltz.

“ secret



“ secret article, not only not to permit any one, whoever  
“ he be, to attempt to divest the republic of its right of  
“ free election, to render the kingdom hereditary, or to  
“ make himself absolute therein, in all cases whenever such  
“ attempt should be made; but also to prevent and to frus-  
“ trate, by all possible means, and in common consent, the  
“ views and designs that have a tendency to that end, as  
“ soon as they shall be discovered, and even, in case of ne-  
“ cessity, to recur to the force of arms, to defend the re-  
“ public from the overthrow of its constitution and its  
“ fundamental laws.

“ The present secret article shall have the same force and  
“ vigour as if it had been inserted word for word in the  
“ principal treaty of defensive alliance signed this day, and  
“ shall be ratified at the same time.

“ In virtue whereof two similar copies of it have been  
“ made, which we, the ministers plenipotentiary of his ma-  
“ jesty the king of Prussia, and of her majesty the empress  
“ of all the Russias, authorized to that purpose, have signed  
“ and sealed with the seal of our arms.

“ Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th of April (the  
“ 31st of March O. S.) 1764.

“ C. DE SOLMS. PANIN. GALLITZIN.”

The new sovereign of Saxony, who flattered himself with the prospect of inheriting the throne of Augustus III. as he had inherited his electorate, addressed himself to the empress, to prevail upon her to approve his pretensions: but she made no hesitation to deprive him of all hope. She wrote to him, “ That she advised him, as  
“ a true friend, not to expose his interests in an  
“ affair

“ affair which in the issue could not answer his expectations.”

Conscious of her power in Poland, Catharine dismissed, one after another, the candidates who were not agreeable to her, without, however, giving any intimation as yet concerning the person whom she intended to favour. The greater number of the Poles were for electing a Piast, a descendant of their ancient kings. Catharine also for some time appeared to be of the same sentiment. But all at once it was heard with amazement at Warsaw, that it was Count Poniatofsky whom that monarch had destined to the throne. This choice excited an almost universal discontent and violent murmurs. The polish magnats, incensed at the prospect of being governed by a young man\* of a birth not very illustrious, and whose elevation was neither justified by shining actions nor extraordinary virtues, reciprocally interrogated one another, what services Count Poniatofsky had rendered the republic, for obtaining so glorious a reward?

Count Poniatofsky was endowed with those qualities which are more adapted to conciliate the friendship of particular persons, than to fit him for swaying a sceptre. Tall, well-made, of a figure at once commanding and agreeable, he

\* He was at that time 32 years of age.

spoke and wrote with fluency the seven principal languages of Europe, and in a graceful diction: but he possessed only a slight knowledge of affairs. His eloquence was vague and desultory, his presumption too apparent. Rather weak than gentle, rather prodigal than generous, he might easily mislead women, and dazzle a thoughtless multitude, but not persuade men of cultivated minds. He was doubtless fitter to submit to be governed than to govern himself. Nevertheless, supported by the influence and arms of Russia, and having no obstacle to fear on the part of other powers, his triumph was not long in suspense. The consequence of Catharine was involved in this triumph. That princess set so great a value on seeing the crown of the Sarmates on the brow of her former favourite, that she wrote without delay to count Kayserling, her ambassador at Warsaw, to employ every means in behalf of Poniatofsky. One of her letters was intercepted, and contained the following words:—"Mon cher comte, souvenez-vous de mon candidat. Je vous écris ceci deux heures après minuit: jugez si la chose m'est indifférente\*!"

\* "My dear count, remember my candidate. I write this to you at two o'clock in the morning; judge whether I am indifferent about the affair!"



Count Kayserling was careful not to disobey. Neither he nor the russian generals neglected any thing for securing the choice which their sovereign desired. The dyetines were already convoked. That of Warsaw elected Poniatofsky by an unanimous suffrage; but whatever pains had been taken for bringing those of the provinces to the same favourable disposition, his success was not the same. His competitors obtained a majority of voices in some, and at least an equal number with his in the others.

At the assembling of the diet of convocation, the russian troops entered Warsaw, under pretence of preserving liberty and order.

Crowds of foreigners at the same time poured into that city, all ready to unite at the very first signal. Count Branichky, grand general of the crown, and prince Radzivil, took arms in order to prevent the Russians from extorting the suffrages: but what could they do against foreign armies who were masters of the country; and against a part of their countrymen disposed to join those armies? It is a difficult matter to form an adequate idea of the tumult that began to prevail in the diet of Warsaw. Count Malakofsky, venerable for his great age and his virtues, had been appointed its marshal. He endeavoured in vain to reduce it to order, and  
to

to clear it of strangers. He was answered by furious vociferations, and sabres were drawn. The eloquent Mokranofsky, nuntio of Cracow, ran the risk of his life under the swords of the russian officers, who endeavoured to pierce him from the galleries of the speakers. He at first thought of standing on his defence; but, presently returning his sabre into the sheath, and exposing his breast:—"If you must needs have a victim," said he to the Russians, "I stand here before you. But at least I shall die free, as I have hitherto lived."—It is not improbable that he would have fallen a prey to their fury, had not prince Adam Chartorinsky had the generous courage to throw himself in the way, and to shield him with his body. Thus, in the first sittings of the diet nothing passed but injurious speeches and tumultuous quarrels.

Some one at Peterfburg who knew what displeasure the election of Poniatofsky would occasion to the Poles, and, wanting to vilify him in the eyes of Catharine, had the boldness to tell that monarch, that he whose interest she espoused seemed the less proper to fill the throne of Poland, as his grandfather had been intendant of a little estate belonging to the princes Lubomirsky.—"Though he had been so himself,"

returned she, somewhat nettled, "I will have  
" him to be king, and he shall be."

Holding this language, Catharine was under no apprehensions of being deceived. Independently of the troops which she had already in Poland, she caused a body of 12,000 men to enter Lithuania, and fresh reinforcements were advancing towards Kief. Her ambassador ruled at Warsaw, and her armies, if the expression may be allowed, compressed the republic.

Several of the provinces now heavily accused their nuncios of having badly corresponded with their desires in submitting to the influence of the court of Petersburg. They did not confine themselves to murmurs. They had recourse to arms; they formed into different confederacies; but these movements were attended by no consequences. The Russians threatened: the malcontents were presently silenced.

At length the diet of election was opened; held, according to custom, in the plain of Vola, at the distance of about three miles from Warsaw. This diet began by a solemn mass, and a sermon\*. Count Kayserling, ambassador from Russia, being at that time indisposed, could not

\* The preacher took his text from these words: *Eligite ex vobis meliorem, qui vobis placuerit, et posuite eum super solium.* 2 Kings, x. 3.



repair to Vola, but sent to the diet a letter, addressed to him by the empress, recommending to him count Poniatofsky in the most pressing terms.

The other party, however, had not been idle, either during the election of the nuncios or representatives, who, in the name of the body of the nobility, were to chuse a king, nor at the first assembling of the states\*. In the former case great tumults were raised, but they subsisted not long. In the latter twenty-two senators entered a protest against the proceedings of the diet, the principal reasons of which were grounded on the presence and interference of the foreign troops. Forty-five nuncios signed an act of adhesion to this protest.

Count Branichky, who was at the head of these protesters, retired from the diet. But that assembly, soon after its opening, took its revenge. An order was made for divesting him of the post of crown general. Branichky denied their power; drew together into one body a great part of that army of which they had attempted to deprive him, but which still faithfully adhered to him; augmented it by levies; and prepared to maintain himself by force; possessed, as it

\* May 7, 1764.

should seem, by a spirit of despair and fury, having no power in the least adequate to the height of his attempt. Prince Radzivil, on his part, was also up in arms, and with the same obstinacy, and no greater strength, struggled against the election.

The ambassadors of France, Spain, and the empire, finding their political intrigues of no more avail towards obstructing the election, than the hostile attempts of prince Radzivil and count Branichky were likely to be, retired from the diet and left Poland, declaring that they had not been sent to a party, but to the entire republic\*.

An action at length happened† between prince Radzivil and the russian troops, wherein the Poles, having fought a long time with their usual irregular bravery, were as usual defeated by the Russians.

The spirit of Poland appeared strongly in all the circumstances of this action. The princess Radzivil, but newly married, and a sister of that prince, both of them young and beautiful, fought on horseback with sabres, and encouraged the soldiery both by their words and their example.

\* June the 7th, 1764.

† On the 3d of July.

Branichky

Branichky was also defeated by a body of Russians; and these two nobles, the only very considerable persons who opposed the russian nomination, were obliged to fly out of their country, and to take shelter in the turkish dominions, where they particularly value themselves on protecting the unfortunate; and these noble fugitives found refuge where Charles XII. had found it.

During all this time Poniatofsky, accompanied with a great number of his friends, was visiting each nuncio in particular, and endeavouring to gain them by testimonies of benevolence and flattering promises. The palatines being all assembled and ranged in order round the shopa\*,

\* The general diet for the election of a king is always held in the open field, about two miles from Warsaw, near the village of Vola, where a sort of booth is erected, covered with boards, at the public charge, which in the polish language is called *shopa*, or a shelter from bad weather. This place is built and prepared by the treasurer of the crown: it is surrounded with a ditch, and has three doors. The day appointed for the diet being come, the senate and the nobility proceed to St. John's church at Warsaw, to hear the mass of the holy ghost, to implore its influence in the election of a new king who may have all the qualities necessary to defend the interests of the church and of the republic; after which they go to the shopa and proceed to business.



a large building open on all sides, occupied by the senate and the equestrian order, the primate asked with a loud voice, at three distinct periods, who they would have for king? All answered unanimously :—" Count Poniatofsky !" —The next day \* he was proclaimed king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania, under the name of Stanislaus Augustus. Thus the diet and the kingdom being freed, in the manner we have seen, from all those who were the declared opposers of Poniatofsky, the election was soon concluded in favour of that prince with an unanimity unknown in the annals of Poland.

The new monarch, on his return to Warsaw, passed along the streets of that capital amidst the acclamations of all the people, and from that very day took possession of the palace of the republic. Some nuncios had abstained from appearing at the diet; the greater part of the prime nobility took umbrage at the appointment of Poniatofsky: but, no sooner was he on the throne than they came almost all to do him homage; and he began to reign in as much tranquillity as if his election had not been effected by violence †.

Some

\* The 7th of September.

† Stanislaus Poniatofsky behaved at first with great judgment and circumspection. He received with kindness those  
who

Some time previous to this election, Catharine had declared her intention of visiting the scene of

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who had acted seemingly in the most direct opposition to his interest. The son of count Bruhl exerted himself to his prejudice, and yet that prince left him in possession of the post of grand master of the artillery which he had promised to count Branichky, palatin of Belsh, and of which indeed the latter had the generosity not to wish to deprive him.— Soon after his election, he received letters of congratulation from many of the courts of Europe. The most remarkable is that from the king of Prussia, written with his majesty's own hand. From the matter and the occasion, as well as the character of the writer, it is extremely worthy of being inserted at length. Nothing can be more glorious than a communication of such sentiments in the intercourse between sovereigns. “ Your majesty must reflect, that, as  
“ you enjoy a crown by election and not by descent, the  
“ world will be more observant of your majesty's actions than  
“ of any other potentate in Europe: and it is but reasonable.  
“ The latter being the mere effect of consanguinity, no more  
“ is looked for (though much more is to be wished) from  
“ him, than what men are endowed with in common: but,  
“ from a man exalted; by the voice of his equals, from  
“ a subject to a king, from a man voluntarily elected to  
“ reign over those by whom he was chosen, every thing is  
“ expected that can possibly deserve and adorn a crown.  
“ Gratitude to his people is the first great duty of such a  
“ monarch: for to them alone (under Providence) he is  
“ indebted that he is one. A king who is so by birth, if  
“ he acts derogatory to his station, is a satire only on him-  
“ self; but an elected one, who behaves inconsistent with  
“ his

of her successes, and to make the tour of Livonia. But whilst this monarch was employed abroad in disposing of crowns, at home her throne seemed to be tottering under her; and that vast power, which extended to the remotest part of Asia, which awed all Europe, and absolutely governed so many of its neighbours, was not secure of its own duration for a moment. Every breath of a conspiracy seemed to shake it: and such was the critical state of that empire, that the designs of the obscurest person in it were not unattended by danger.

In the course of this summer an event of that nature happened in Russia which is highly deserving of a place in history, from the extraordinary circumstances by which it was accompanied, though so extremely mysterious and unaccountable in many particulars, that we despair of affording any clear satisfaction to the reader concerning them.

The empress, in pursuance of her intentions already mentioned, set out on her journey through Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. On

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“ his dignity, reflects dishonour also on his subjects. Your  
“ majesty, I am sure, will pardon this warmth. It is the  
“ effusion of the sincerest regard. The amiable part of the  
“ picture is not so much a lesson of what you ought to be,  
“ as a prophecy of what your majesty will be.”

her



her way, she passed over from Oranienbaum to Cronstadt; and thinking to give the foreign ministers an advantageous idea of her marine, she invited them to follow her to that port. They did so: but the opinion they formed of her naval forces fell far short of that which she entertained of them herself. There was but a small number of ships, which they judged but little adapted to keep the sea; and the english ambassador, with that frankness peculiar to his nation, did not dissemble that her navy was far from appearing to him to be very formidable. She afterwards proved that it was possible for it to become so.

On quitting Cronstadt, her majesty, having left the government of Petersburg to count Panin, took the road of Livonia, accompanied by count Gregory Orloff and a small retinue of nobility of both sexes. During her absence on this expedition, in the prison of the dethroned Ivan an insurrection broke out under the conduct of a certain Mirovitch, which cost that unfortunate prince his life.

Ivan Antonovitch, styled Ivan the third in the manifestoes that were published in his name while emperor, was born in 1740; great grandson of czar Ivan Alexèyevitch, the elder half-brother

brother of Peter the great \*. On running over the series of russian monarchs from Alexèy Michailovitch downwards, our feelings are at every moment hurt by the intestine disturbances that have happened from different pretenders, of which so many within so short a space of time, and in general attended with such shocks, no princely house in Europe has experienced, especially in modern times. But a cruel fatality

\* See the genealogical tables in the former part of this volume, tab. iii.

Ivan III. if we reckon by the line of the tzars, or VI. if from the first sovereign of Russia, was proclaimed emperor on the death of empress Anne, and Biren regent; but this high elevation was soon to be followed by a dreadful fall. The father and the mother of the young emperor were discontented at seeing themselves excluded from the regency; and the insolence with which they were treated by Biren increased their displeasure. Munich, on his part, not having obtained from the regent what he thought due to his services, joined himself to those princes, and, in the night between the 20th and 21st of November, Mansfeld, aid-de-camp to Munich, arrested the regent. The princess Anne caused herself to be proclaimed regent during the minority of her son. The whole nation rejoiced at being freed from an abominable tyrant: he was conducted to Schlusfelburg, tried, and condemned to death: but his punishment was mitigated to an exile for life in Siberia. This exile was again moderated, by transferring him to Yaroslaf, where he remained till 1762, when Peter III. as we have already seen, recalled him to court; and he was shortly after restored to his dukedom by Catharine.

seems,

seems, in a particular manner, to have propagated the seeds of discord between the families of the two imperial brothers.

We have seen him seized and confined with his parents and relations; at first conveyed to the citadel of Riga, then in the fortress of Dunamund; from thence removed to Oranienburg, at the south-eastern extremity of European Russia. At all these places the being together alleviated the miseries of imprisonment, and especially the humane behaviour of captain Korf, which first awakened the gratitude of the infant emperor, and was all his life after recollected with emotion; solely on account of this lenity, the suspicion of the court fell upon Korf\*, and he was removed from his office. About the latter end of 1745, or the beginning of the year 1746, the family was separated; all the rest being brought more northward to Kolmogori, Ivan was left behind in Oranienburg. To his great misfortune it came into the mind of a monk to carry him off; in their flight they had reached Smolensk, where the affair was discovered, and they were detained. From thence the wretched captive, lately the envied emperor of a quarter of the globe, was now brought, for greater secu-

\* Afterwards promoted to the rank of general by Peter III.



rity, to Schluffelburg, and there lodged in a casematt of the fortress, the very loop-hole of which was immediately bricked up. He was never brought out into the open air, and no ray of heaven ever visited his eyes. In this subterranean vault it was necessary to keep a lamp always burning; and as no clock was either to be seen or heard, Ivan knew no difference between day and night. His interior guard, a captain and a lieutenant, were shut up with him; and there was a time when they did not dare to speak to him, not so much as to answer him the simplest question. What wonder if his ignorance should at length border on stupidity? This dreadful abode was however afterwards changed for that presently to be described, in the corridor under the covered way, in the castle. Elizabeth caused him once to be brought in a covered cart to Petersburg, and saw and conversed with him. Peter III. also visited him incognito; and what passed on this occasion has been already related. Catharine too had a conversation with him soon after the commencement of her reign, as she relates in her manifesto of the 28th of August 1764\*, in order, as is there said, to form a judgment of his under-

\* Which see at the end of this volume, appendix, No. X.

standing and talents. To her great surprise she found him to the last degree deficient in both. She observed in him a total privation of sense and reason, with a defect in his utterance, that even had he any thing rational to utter, would have rendered him entirely unintelligible.

All persons, however, were not so thoroughly convinced of the incapacity of this prince. He was now arrived at the age of twenty-four years, and he might evidently be made an instrument, or at least a pretence, for exciting dangerous commotions. His just title to the crown, of which he had been formerly in possession, his long sufferings, without any other guilt than that possession and that title, his youth, and even the obscurity which attended his life, and which therefore gave latitude for conjecture and invention, formed very proper materials for working on the minds of the populace. At the moment when Catharine was taking her departure from the residence, she had intelligence of fresh conspiracies among the guards. Several of them were taken up: but, experience having shewn that the detection of one conspiracy always encouraged the hatching of some other; and, willing to avoid irritating the multitude by the frequency of punishments, the conspirators were  
proceeded

proceeded against in private, and many of them were suffered to pine out their lives in prison.

From the depth of this dungeon prince Ivan afforded hopes to those who held in abhorrence the present usurpation. It was for restoring the throne to this unfortunate captive that almost all these plots were formed. It was for his sake that men who had never seen him, and whose very existence was utterly unknown to him, were continually braving the scaffold. Faithful to the system of calumny that had been of such service to the destruction of Peter III. the court of Russia incessantly employed it against Ivan. One while it was given out that he was stupid, and incapable of uttering articulate sounds; at another, that he was a drunkard, and as ferocious as a savage. Sometimes it was even pretended, that he was subject to fits of madness, and believed himself a prophet. But many there were to whom these reports seemed no better than tales invented by the blackest malignity, and afterwards innocently propagated by persons who did not reflect on the numberless interests that might concur in their invention. Doubtless, Ivan, to whom all kinds of instruction were refused \*, and who was kept shut up in a loath-

\* It however has been affirmed, that a german officer, who for some time had the custody of him, clandestinely taught him to read.



some prison, denied the converse of any human being from whom he could derive information, must necessarily have been of a very confined understanding: but there is still a great distance between ignorance and imbecility or madness. What evidently proves that Ivan was neither mad nor stupid is, in the first place, the conversation he had \* at count Schuvaloff's with the empress Elizabeth. Not only the graces of his figure and the accents of his voice, but the moving complaints he uttered, awakened the sensibility of all that were present, and even drew from the empress abundance of tears. If that young prince had committed some act of lunacy, would it have failed of publication? Again, afterwards we find a fresh proof of his good sense and his sensibility in the discourse which he held to Peter III. when he saw him, for the first time, at Schlusselfburg. Baron Korf has faithfully transmitted it to us, as we have related it in a former part of this volume †. Peter III. talked with him several times afterwards, and persisted in his intention of declaring him his heir. Now it may well be imagined, that Volkoff, Gudovitch, and his other confidants, would have dissuaded him from it, if they

\* In 1756.

† See p. 211, 212.

could have brought themselves to imagine Ivan likely to be for ever unfit to wear the crown. But, to conclude, whatever might be the character of that prince, the daring attempts that were repeatedly made in his favour did not render him less formidable to Catharine and to the tranquillity of the empire.

Chance soon furnished an instrument to put him out of the way of being any disturbance to either. The regiment of Smolensk was in garrison in the town of Schluffelburg; and a company of about 100 men guarded the fortress in which prince Ivan was confined. In this regiment, as second lieutenant, was an officer named Vassily Mirovitch, whose grandfather had been implicated in the rebellion of the kozac Mazepa, and had fought under Charles XII. against Peter the great. The estates of the family of Mirovitch had accordingly been forfeited to the crown. This young man, who had a good share of ambition, preferred with warmth his pretensions to have them restored; and this it was that made him known at court. The family-estates were not given back; but he was continually flattered with the hopes of their recovery, if he would shew himself active in securing the tranquillity of the empire.

The

The inner guard placed over the imperial prisoner consisted of two officers, captain Vlasieff and lieutenant Tschekin, who slept with him in his cell. These had a discretionary order, signed by the empress, by which they were enjoined to put the unhappy prince to death, on any insurrection that might be made in his favour, on the presumption that it could not otherwise be quelled.

The door of Ivan's prison opened under a sort of low arcades, which, together with it, form the thickness of the castle-wall within the ramparts; in this arcade or corridor eight soldiers usually kept guard, as well on his account, as because the several vaults on a line with his contain stores of various kinds for the use of the fortrefs. The other soldiers were in the guard-house, at the gate of the castle, and at their proper stations. The detachment had for its commander an officer, who himself was under the orders of the governor.

It has been affirmed that, some time before the execution of his project, Mirovitch had opened himself to a lieutenant of the regiment of Veliki Luki, named Ushakoff; and that Ushakoff bound himself by an oath, which he took at the altar of the church of St. Mary of



Kasan in St. Petersburg, to aid him in the enterprise to the best of his power. But as this latter was drowned, a few days after this is said to have happened, as he was assisting in the launch of a vessel, it is impossible to ascertain the fact.

It is more apparent that he talked in vague terms of the conspiracy with one of the valets of the court, and that he mentioned it afterwards to Simeon Tschevarideff, lieutenant of artillery, and spoke of the advantages that would accrue from the rescue of Ivan, and the delivering of him to the regiments of the guards. While he thought to raise his consequence by putting on the air of a conspirator without accomplices, he however said nothing to Tschevarideff positively either of the time or the manner of executing his plot.

He had already performed his week's duty in the fortress, without venturing an attempt. But, tormented by the anxieties arising from suspense, and condemning his own irresolution, he asked permission to be continued on guard for one week longer. This extraordinary step seems not to have excited any suspicions in a governor who was entrusted with so very important and critical a charge; and the request of Mirovitch was granted him without hesitation.

After

After having admitted into his confidence a man of the name of Jacob Pishkoff, he began at about ten o'clock on a fine summer's night \*, to fall into conversation with three corporals and two common soldiers ; and after tampering with them some time, and obviating such difficulties as were suggested by their fears, they were soon gained over to his plan, and they promised to follow his orders. Nevertheless, whether from timidity or from precaution, they resolved with one consent to wait till the night was farther advanced. Between the hours of one and two in the morning, they came together again. Mirovitch and the corporals then procured about fifty † of the soldiers who were on guard to put themselves under arms, and thus marched towards the prison of Ivan. On the way they met Berednikoff, the governor of the fortress, whom they thought fast locked in the arms of sleep; but who, roused by some noise, whether made by them or accidentally occasioned, had come out to see what was the matter. The governor, authoritatively demanded of Mirovitch the reason of his appearance in arms at the head of the soldiers? Without returning any answer, Mi-

\* The 4<sup>th</sup> of July.

† It is probable that 38 was the exact number.

rovitch knocked him down with the butt end of his firelock, and, ordering some of his people to secure him, continued his march.

Having wounded and secured the governor, Mirovitch lost no time to secure his advantage. Being arrived at the corridor into which the door of Ivan's chamber opened, he advanced furiously at the head of his troop, and attacked the handful of soldiers who guarded prince Ivan. He was received with spirit by the guard, who quickly repulsed him. He immediately ordered his men to fire upon them, which they did. The centinels returned their fire; when these conspirators, at the same time the most desperate and the most timid of mankind, were obliged to retire, though neither on one side nor the other was there a single man killed, or even wounded in the slightest degree.

The soldiers of Mirovitch, surprised at the resistance they met, shewed signs of an inclination to retreat. Their chief withheld them; but they insisted on his shewing them the order which he said he had received from Petersburg. He directly drew from his pocket and read to them a forged decree of the senate, recalling prince Ivan to the throne, and excluding Catharine from it, because she was gone into Livonia to marry count Poniatofsky. The ignorant and credulous



credulous soldiers implicitly gave credit to the decree, and again put themselves in order to obey him. A piece of artillery was now brought from the ramparts to Mirovitch, who himself pointed it at the door of the dungeon, and was preparing to batter the place; but at that instant the door opened, and he entered, unmolested, with all his suite.

The officers Vlassieff and Tschekin, commanders of the guard which was set on the prince, were shut up with him, and had called out to the centinels to fire. But, on seeing this formidable preparative, and hearing Miróvitch give orders to beat in the door, they thought it expedient to take counsel together. And, first, they held it impossible to resist such a superior force as that which they had lately beaten off. Then they took into consideration the dreadful consequences which must inevitably ensue, to the public peace and the safety of the empire, if their prisoner should be enlarged; and, lastly, they set before their eyes the punishment that would be inflicted on them by the government, in case their charge should be taken from them, though against their will, and after all possible resistance.

On this consultation, they came to the dreadful resolution of assassinating the unfortunate captive,

tive, over whose life they were to watch, terrified with the dangers which manifestly waited this horrid act, directly hanging over them from a desperate force, which (to give any colour to their proceeding) they must have concluded irresistible.

At the noise of the firing Ivan had awoke; and, hearing the cries and the threats of his guards, he conjured them to spare his miserable life. But, on seeing that these barbarians had no regard to his prayers, he found new force in his despair; and, though naked, defended himself for a considerable time. Having his right hand pierced through and his body covered with wounds, he seized the sword from one of the monsters and broke it; but while he was struggling to get the piece out of his hand, the other stabbed him from behind, and threw him down. He who had his sword broke now plunged his bayonet into his body, and several times repeating his blow, under these strokes the unhappy prince expired.

They then opened the door, and shewed Mirovitch at once the bleeding body of the murdered prince, and the order by which they were authorised to put him to death, if any attempt should be made to convey him away.

Mirovitch,

Mirovitch, struck with horror, at first started back some paces; then threw himself on the body of Ivan, and cried out:—"I have missed my aim; I have now nothing to do but to die."—But he presently rose up. So far from attempting to flee from the punishment which he must now foresee, or to take his revenge on the two assassins by shooting them on the spot, he returned to the place where he had left the governor in the hands of his soldiers; and, surrendering to him his sword, coldly said:—"It is I that am now your prisoner."

The next day the body of the poor unfortunate Ivan was exposed before the church\* in the castle of Schlusselfburg, clothed in the habit of a sailor. As soon as it was known, immense crowds of people flocked thither from the neighbouring towns and from St. Petersburg; and it is impossible to describe the grief and indigna-

\* An old lutheran church built of timber for the use of the garrison while Nöteborg was in possession of the Swedes, long before it was taken from them by Peter the great. The church is in a very decayed state, full of rubbish, and not employed in any religious purposes. The painted altar is removed from its proper place at the east end, and stands against the north side wall, and in its place, filling the enclosure where the altar rails have been, is a large pile of deal planks, in a state of rottenness: under this stack of wood the body of Ivan was thrown, where it lay for some time.



tion that were excited at the view of an unfortunate being, who, after having been cruelly precipitated from the throne while yet in his cradle, passed his days in a dark and doleful dungeon, where he was inhumanly put to death by assassins. Ivan was full six feet high, with a fine blond head of hair, a red beard, regular features, and of a complexion extremely fair: accordingly, the beauty of his person and his youth \* heightened the sensibility that was universally discovered at the unhappiness of his lot, and the cruelty of his murderers. His body was wrapt up in a sheep-skin, put into a coffin, and inhumed without ceremony.

The concourse and the murmurs increased to such a degree that a tumult was now apprehended. To avoid any fatal consequences to themselves the two assassins Vlassieff and Tschekin, as soon as they had perpetrated their crime, put themselves on board of a vessel which they found on the point of sailing for Denmark, where, on their arrival, the russian minister took them under his protection †.

The governor of Schlusselfburg dispatched to Petersburg a full relation of the horrid outrage

\* He had not yet completed his 24th year.

† They shortly after returned to Russia, and were advanced in the service.

of Mirovitch, and of the tragical end of Ivan. He accompanied this account with a manifesto that had been found in the pocket of Mirovitch, and which, it was said, had been long fabricated in concert with lieutenant Ushakoff. This manifesto, which contained many scurrilous invectives and imprecations against Catharine, and represented prince Ivan as the sole legitimate emperor, it was observed, was to have been published at the moment the prince was set at liberty and was making his entry into St. Petersburg. Panin immediately sent off a courier to the empress with an exact account of these particulars.

Her majesty was then at Riga; and, under a visible impatience of mind, was frequently inquiring after news from the residence: a circumstance by no means unaccountable, if we consider the frequent causes of alarm from plots and cabals with which she had been incessantly harassed since the beginning of her reign. Her inquietude increased from day to day, and she would often rise in the night to ask whether no courier was arrived\*. Some persons after-

\* These facts have often been confirmed by general Brown; who, being a good roman catholic, honestly attributed these perturbations of Catharine to supernatural presentiments.

wards recollected these circumstances to her disadvantage, as if she was anxiously counting the days since the period when Mirovitch was stationed on guard \*. At length, after three days had elapsed, the dispatches of Panin were brought to her hand.

The trial of the conspirators was remitted to the senate; they condemned Mirovitch to death; and he was publicly executed † in pursuance of his sentence. The inferior actors in this design did not suffer death, but were subjected to other punishments perhaps not less severe. The officers, who put the prince to death, were, in consideration of their good intentions to the quiet of the state, amply rewarded for their fidelity. A manifesto appeared by authority ‡, giving an account of the whole procedure. It was filled with expressions of humanity and piety, which sort of language seemed now to be the office style of the court of Petersburg.

The public was much divided in opinion concerning the whole of this transaction. It

\* The circumstance that Mirovitch had suffered his week's duty on guard to expire before he could summon up courage enough to attempt the execution of his project, was not, on this occasion, forgotten.

† September the 26th.

‡ Which see at the end of this vol. appendix, No. X.



was thought inconceivable that an insignificant private individual should hazard an enterprise, that, if even at first all things should go well, yet could never be prosecuted to final success by him. That in the attack no one should be hurt; that upon Ivan's death all should be immediately as quiet as if nothing had happened; that no inquiry was set on foot about any accomplices in Petersburg, of which there had been some talk at first; seemed to give room to surmise that simply this death was the object in view, and to this sole end the whole machinery was directed. None of the court party could have done this service to the absent empress, without her knowledge and consent. But, on the other hand, the slanderous manifesto found upon Mirovitch was produced, which he intended to have published immediately upon his having Ivan in his possession, and which count Panin, it was said, had actually read and sent to the sovereign; but particularly the execution of the rebel: if perhaps it was he, and not some unknown malefactor, who underwent that punishment.—Let it suffice, the public emotions of pity and displeasure at the sad catastrophe of the imperial progeny, and himself once emperor, were plainly manifested by every kind of expression. The multitudes of people who, notwithstanding  
all

all that could be done to check their impetuosity, still flocked to the castle, insisting on seeing the body; were so great, that the government was obliged to give orders to remove it from the castle-church, and convey it in the silence of the night with the utmost secrecy, to the monastery of Tichfina, 200 versts from Petersburg. Among the regiments of guards in that city, who thought they had the exclusive right to depose and to murder emperors, violent commotions arose; that especially in the night of the 24th of July, caused the greatest alarm: it was only by the prudent measure of prince Galitzin, who caused powder and ball to be publicly distributed among the marching regiments that were encamped in the vicinity of Petersburg, that tranquillity was restored. When the two officers by whom the prince was assassinated appeared at court, every one beheld them with looks of undissembled contempt and abhorrence.

Catharine's throne was now firmly established. Even the angry spirit that persecuted the family of Ivan seemed at length appeased. As her majesty afterwards set at liberty the other members of it, it may be necessary to make some brief mention of them here. The parents and relations of the unfortunate young emperor had been brought to Kolmogori, a village-like town in the government  
of

of Archangel, on an island of the Dvina. Here they dwelt poor and melancholy, in close confinement. The mother, Anna Carlovna, died in child-bed, while Elizabeth was yet reigning, in March 1746, and was taken from hence, and buried in the same monastery where afterwards Peter III. at last found rest. The father, Anthony Ulric, died in 1776. He left behind him two princes, Peter and Alexey, two princesses, Catharine and Elizabeth, and several natural children: all, except the elder of the princesses, born in prison. For a series of seventeen years they were very severely treated by Golovtzin, the last viceroy of Archangel. After his death, which happened in 1779, Catharine appointed in his place a man of more generous sentiments, the general-governor Melgunef, who visited the unfortunate captives, administered to them every consolation in his power, took with him a letter from the princess Elizabeth to the empress; and, on delivering it, described their situation in such affecting terms, that her majesty immediately resolved to open a negotiation with the court of Denmark. The dowager-queen of that kingdom, Juliana Maria, was a sister of duke Anthony Ulric. In the following year, 1780, the business was brought to a conclusion: the accommodation was easy, as Catharine acted with her wonted



wonted magnanimity. If, as is probable, a deed of renunciation of all pretensions to the russian throne was required of the state-prisoners in behalf of themselves and their posterity, neither could this occasion any difficulty. The empress directly sent them 200,000 rubles, to provide the family with clothes, plate, porcelaine, &c. befitting their rank. This she accompanied with a present of rich furs and jewels from the imperial cabinet; and appointed persons of quality to attend the princes and princesses on their voyage. At Archangel Melgunof first discovered to them their liberation, and the intended voyage to Denmark. They heard the news with sorrow, and earnestly intreated to be sent back to their old prison; till the persuasions of the generous Melgunof raised their spirits, and inspired them with courage\*. In July a frigate brought the whole family to Bergen in

\* The dowager-queen of Denmark, in the letter of thanks which she wrote to the empress in terms of the tenderest sensibility, highly extolled, as she had reason to do, the behaviour of this worthy man in the whole of his conduct. This testimony saved him, on occasion of an unmerited accusation that was brought against him concerning his behaviour in this business, and which threatened him with imminent danger: and, on his having justified himself, to the satisfaction of all impartial judges, Catharine rewarded him with the order of St. Andrew, and made him many presents besides.

Norway,

Norway, where the princes and princesses were taken on board a danish ship, leaving the illegitimate children to return with the imperial frigate. The parting with these half-relatives excited the most painful emotions in the breasts of the family. The most sensible of them, Elizabeth, survived not long her grief and the shock her frame had received at this sudden change of fortune. The four brothers and sisters of Ivan were, at the time when they obtained their liberty, between 30 and 40 years of age. The danish court assigned them the city of Horsens in Yutland, as the place of their residence. Towards their establishment there Catharine presented them with 20,000 rubles, and paid annually to the maintenance of their dignity 30,000 rubles. In October 1782, the princess Elizabeth died at Horsens; and her death was followed by that of her brother Alexèy in October 1787. The natural children of the duke of Brunswic received in Russia an annual pension: one of them, a daughter named Amelia, after her return, married lieutenant Karikin, who, for twelve years, had the guard of the family at Kolmogori, and with whom she had long been intimately acquainted.

To return to our history. Catharine, soon after the shocking event that had happened at

Schlusselfburg, arrived from off her journey through the conquered provinces. On her entry into Petersburg, she was surrounded by an immense concourse of people, who endeavoured to find out by her countenance what was passing in her heart; but, always mistress of herself, the face of that princess was ever covered with smiles. Her step was as firm, her front as serene, as those who feel no inward reproaches usually are.

Lieutenant-general Veymar had already been charged to repair to Schlusselfburg. After having privately examined Mirovitch and his accomplices, they were brought to Petersburg, where their trial was opened before a commission composed of five prelates, of an equal number of senators, and several general officers. Mirovitch appeared before the judges with all that tranquillity which only the hope of pardon can communicate to a criminal like him. He replied with a frivolous and often insolent air, to the interrogatories that were put to him. It is true that the judges themselves seemed not to make it a matter of great importance, and rather appeared as if they dreaded to fathom this execrable mystery. One alone\* had so much sense of propriety as to declare against such an extraordi-

\* He was a senator.



nary mode of procedure. But he was blamed for his indiscreet zeal, and advised to keep silence, if he would not lose his office, and be degraded from his rank of noblesse. In fine, after some days spent in the trial, Mirovitch was condemned to lose his head\*, not as guilty of high treason, but only as a disturber of the public peace. Unmoved at this sentence, he walked to the scaffold like a man who had nothing to fear, and who thought himself sure of obtaining a pardon, as indeed, according to a report, it had been promised him. But if he really reckoned on a pardon, he was cruelly deceived. The time for his execution was accelerated; and the unhappy wretch, if he had before been the instrument, was now the victim of a barbarous policy. Those who considered him in the former point of view were astonished that the empress should suffer him to fall under the axe. But how could she have screened him from punishment without manifestly drawing upon herself the charge of having prompted his crime? and if she were really concerned in it, can it be thought that she would hesitate a moment in getting rid of a witness who would have exposed her to everlasting vexation?

\* On the 26th of September.

Mirovitch was the only person condemned to death. The soldiers whom he had engaged to join him in the intended rescue were punished with various degrees of severity. Pishkoff, who was considered as the most guilty, was sentenced to run the gantlet twelve times through a line of a thousand men. The three corporals and the two fuziliers, seduced after Pishkoff, were flogged ten times along the same line; after which they were put to the public works, with a log chained to their leg. The other soldiers who acted under the orders of Mirovitch were likewise whipped through the ranks; and after being incorporated in other regiments, were sent into distant garrisons. Tschevarideff was degraded from his rank of officer, for having heard without revealing the vague confidential communications of Mirovitch. Fifty-eight persons were punished. A great appearance of severity was exercised against them; and this, among other circumstances, was calculated to obviate any suspicions that might arise concerning any more eminent instigators of their crime.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

# APPENDIX

TO THE

## FIRST VOLUME.

### No. I.

*Succession of the SOVEREIGNS of RUSSIA, GRAND PRINCES or GRAND DUKES, TZARS, and afterwards EMPERORS; PATRIARCHS, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, &c.*

	A. M.	A. C.
<i>Rurik</i> - - - - -	6369	861
<i>Igor</i> , his son, at first under the regency of his uncle <i>Oleg</i> - - - - -	6386	878
<i>Svetoslauf</i> , son, first under the regency of his mother <i>Olga</i> , who embraced christianity. Kief was at this time the residence or capital - - - - -	6453	945
<i>Yaropolk</i> , son of the grand duke - - - - -	6480	972
<i>Vladimir</i> , brother, first christian prince, and apostle of his nation - - - - -	6488	980
<i>Yaroslauf</i> , son of the grand duke, at Kief: his brothers have appanages: thence the different dukedoms - - - - -	6523	1015
<i>Isiaslauf</i> , son - - - - -	6562	1054
<i>Vsevolod</i> , brother - - - - -	6586	1078
		<i>Sviatopolk</i> ,



	A. M.	A. C.
<i>Sviatopolk</i> , son of the grand duke <i>Isiaslauf</i>	6601	1093
<i>Vladimir</i> II. brother of <i>Vsevolod</i> -	6622	1114
<i>Mstislauf</i> , son - - -	6633	1125
<i>Yaropolk</i> , brother - - -	6640	1132
<i>Viatcheslauf</i> , brother, abdicates -	6646	1138
<i>Vsevolod</i> II. great grandson of the grand duke Yaroslauf - - -		
<i>Isiaslauf</i> II. son of <i>Mstislauf</i> -	6654	1146
<i>Rostislauf</i> , brother of <i>Vsevolod</i> II.	6662	1154
<i>Isiaslauf</i> III. son of <i>David</i> , and great grand- son of Yaroslauf - -		
<i>Touri</i> , or <i>Igor</i> , or <i>George</i> , fourth son of the grand duke <i>Vladimir</i> II. He built <i>Mosco</i> : his successors leave <i>Kief</i> , and reside at <i>Vladimir</i> - - -	6663	1155
<i>Michael</i> , son, governs with his brother <i>An-</i> <i>drew</i> , and after his death alone -	6665	1157
<i>Vsevolod</i> III. brother - -	6685	1177
<i>Igor</i> , or <i>George</i> II. son: <i>Constantine</i> his brother during two years - -	6721	1213
<i>Yaroslauf</i> II. brother, in subjection to the Tartars, as the following - -	6746	1238
<i>St. Alexander Nefsky</i> , son - -	6753	1245
<i>Yaroslauf</i> III. brother - -	6771	1263
<i>Vassili</i> , or <i>Basil</i> , brother - -	6778	1270
<i>Dmitri</i> , or <i>Demetrius</i> , brother. His brother Andrew set up by the Tartars - -	6785	1277
<i>Daniel</i> , fourth brother: since whom the grand dukes reside at <i>Mosco</i> - -	6802	1294
<i>Igor</i> , or <i>George</i> , son, deposed - -	6810	1302
<i>Michael</i> , son of <i>Yaroslauf</i> III, -	6813	1305
<i>Vassili</i> , or <i>Basil</i> II. brother - -	6828	1320
<i>Igor</i> , re-established - - -	6833	1325
<i>Ivan</i> , or <i>John</i> , brother - - -	6836	1328
<i>Simeon</i> , son - - -	6848	1340
<i>Ivan</i> II. brother - - -	6861	1353
<i>Demetrius</i>		

	A. M.	A. C.
<i>Demetrius II.</i> son. Demetrius, his relation, set up by the Tartars, two years	6867	1359
<i>Vassili</i> , or <i>Basil III.</i> son - - -	6897	1389
<i>Vassili IV.</i> son. Igor, his uncle, usurps	6933	1425
<i>Ivan III.</i> son. The famous Ivan Vassillie- vitch who threw off the yoke of the Tartars - - -	6970	1462
<i>Vassili V.</i> son - - -	7014	1506
<i>Ivan IV.</i> son, surnamed the tyrant, assumes the title of tzar - - -	7042	1534
<i>Feodor</i> , or <i>Theodore</i> , son; the last of the race of Rurick. The following are of different families - - -	7092	1584
<i>Borice Godounof</i> - - -	7106	1598
<i>Feodor II.</i> son - - -	7113	1605
<i>Gregory Atrepief</i> , falsely calling himself Deme- trius, brother of Feodor I. - - -		
<i>Vassili Zuiski</i> (or <i>Basil VI.</i> ) elected	7114	1606
<i>Vladislaus</i> of Poland, elected, afterwards re- jected - - -	7118	1610
<i>Michael</i> , of the family Romanof (still reign- ing) elected - - -	7121	1613
<i>Alexey</i> , or <i>Alexius</i> , son - - -	7153	1645
<i>Feodor</i> , or <i>Theodore III.</i> son - - -	7184	1676
<i>Ivan V.</i> and <i>Peter</i> , brothers, together	7190	1682
<i>Peter</i> alone, afterwards styled, the great, emperor - - -	7204	1696
Russians cease to reckon by the year of the world.		
<i>Catharine</i> , widow of Peter - - -		1725
<i>Peter II.</i> grandson of Peter the great - - -		1727
<i>Anne</i> , daughter of Ivan - - -		1730
<i>Ivan VI.</i> grandson of Ivan - - -		1740
<i>Elizabeth Petrovna</i> , or daughter of Peter the great - - -		1741
<i>Peter III.</i> nephew, deposed - - -		1762
<i>Catharine II.</i> his widow - - -		1763
<i>Paul</i> , son - - -		1796
		Before

Before the great reformation made by Peter I. both in church and state, the russian ecclesiastics lived in the most consummate indolence and licentiousness, maintaining, at the same time, an unlimited authority over the people. All matters of controversy were prohibited them under pain of death. Public instruction was given but twice in the year to the people; and that consisted only of a portion of some homily translated from one of the greek fathers.

The hierarchy consisted of the patriarch, who was the next in dignity and authority to the czar, and always resided in the city of Mosco; of four metropolitans, seven archbishops, and but one bishop: the other clergy were archdeacons, proto-popes, and popes or priests,

The patriarchs of Russia were :

<i>Job</i> , established by Jeremiah of Constantinople, in 1588.	
<i>Ignatius</i> , placed by the false Demetrius	- 1605.
<i>Hermogenes</i> , after the expulsion of Ignatius	1606.
<i>Philaretes</i> , father of the czar Michael	- - 1615.
<i>Joasaph</i>	- - - - - 1634.
<i>Joseph</i>	- - - - - 1642.
<i>Nicon</i> , deposed afterwards, in a full synod, for ambition and turbulence	- " - 1660.
<i>Joasaph</i>	- - - - - 1667.
<i>Pityroun</i> , or <i>Pestierim</i>	- - - - - 1675.
<i>Joachim</i>	- - - - - 1680.
<i>Adrian</i>	- - - - - 1684.

Since whose death, in 1703, there has been no patriarch.

The patriarch was absolute judge in all ecclesiastical affairs: he had the power of taking what steps he pleased towards the reformation of manners, and to condemn capitally such as he judged guilty of profligacy, or of violating the moral order. His sentences were executed with the quickest dispatch; and such as appealed to his tribunal could not be cited to that of the sovereign. They had sometimes even struggled with the authority of the throne,



throne. Nikon openly opposed its power\*; and Joachim endeavoured to undermine it by artifice and fraud.

On Palm Sunday, which is a great day in Russia, the patriarch, mounted on a horse, represented our Saviour riding into Jerusalem. The tzar used to go from the castle, with the patriarch, to the church which is called Jerusalem. After a number of people, whose business it was to clean the way, followed a very large chariot drawn by six horses, in the manner of a pageant; in this chariot was placed a tree, with apples, grapes, and figs tied upon its branches, and a number of boys about it, with green twigs and boughs in their hands. All the boyars and nobility of the court attended this magnificent ceremony, and joined in the exclamation of "*Hosannah to the Son of David! Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord! Hosannah in the highest!*" as the patriarch moved along, clothed all in white. The tzar, supported by two boyars, and with the imperial diadem on his head, led the horse by the bridle, which was three or four yards in length. The patriarch wore on his head the great patriarchal infula or mitre, richly set with jewels. In his right hand he held a cross of gold, embellished with a profusion of diamonds, and other precious stones, with which he made the sign of the cross over the multitude that thronged about him with great reverence and devotion, expressed by genuflexions and prostrations. The

\* The patriarch Nikon, whom the monks regard as a saint, and who filled the patriarchate in the time of Alexey Michailovitch, the father of Peter the great, wanted to raise his chair above the imperial throne; he not only claimed the right of sitting in the senate by the side of the tzar, but he pretended that neither war nor peace could be made without his consent. His authority, supported by his riches and his intrigues, by the clergy and by the people, held his master in a kind of subjection. He dared to excommunicate certain senators who opposed his excesses. In short, Alexius, being sensible that he was not powerful enough to depose the patriarch by his sole authority, was obliged to convoke a synod of all the bishops. He was accused to them of having received money of the Poles; he was deposed; he was confined for the rest of his days in a cloister, and the prelates chose another patriarch,

horse on which he sat was adorned with splendid trappings, and the richest caparisons; but disguised, so as to bear somewhat of the resemblance of an ass. On each side of the patriarch went several bishops on foot, clothed all in white, and holding thuribles in their hands. The pictures of saints, the chalice, books, bells, tapers, and other things used at mass, as well as the rest of the church ornaments, were borne by the superior clergy, some of whom also carried the consecrated banners of the saints. The way from the palace to the Crescent was all laid with scarlet cloth. At this place it was that the patriarch used first to take horse. He found it tied to a pale, and sent two of the bishops to untie it, and bring it to him. As the procession passed along, some of the people pulled off their upper garments, and spread them in the road; others, who had more piety, purchased cloths and silks, of several yards in length, on purpose; and the rest, who had but little covering, and no money, contented themselves with cutting branches and boughs from the birch-trees, and strewed them in the way.

Thus they proceeded to the beforementioned church; where having stayed above half an hour, they returned in the same order, till they came to a sort of stage or platform. where the patriarch presented the czar and the principal boyars with palm twigs; after which he took off the czar's crown, and laid it in a silver dish, and then gave him the diamond cross to kiss. This being done by the czar with a very profound reverence, the patriarch lifted up the cross, and waved it aloft on different sides, first towards those upon the platform, and then towards the people in general, who at that instant prostrated themselves flat upon the ground. The whole ceremony was concluded by singing a number of hymns; and the patriarch, as an acknowledgment to the sovereign for leading his horse, presented him with a purse of 200 rubles.

We have been thus explicit on this ceremony, that the reader may be the better able to judge of the magnificence  
and

and authority of the patriarchs during their existence. The above account was had from a gentleman whose ancestor related it to his father, as one that he was present at in the patriarchate of Joasaph.

Peter the great abolished this dignity, and established a perpetual synod for all decision in matters of religion. This synod is composed of a president, which the tzar seems to have intended to fill himself, as he never appointed any one to that dignity; a vice-president, who must be an archbishop (at present the archbishop of Mosco); six counsellors, who are bishops; and of six archimandrites\*, who have the quality of assessors.

Upon the present establishment, there are in Russia, three metropolitans, seven archbishops, and eighteen independent bishops:

Mosco and Kaluga, metropolitan.

Novgorod and St. Petersburg, metropolitan.

Kief, metropolitan †.

Pskove and Riga, archbishop.

Tver and Kashin, archbishop.

Rostof and Yaroslavl, archbishop.

Mohilef, Mstislavl, and Orsha, archbishop.

Kazan and Sviashsk, archbishop.

Astrakhan and Stavropol, archbishop.

Ekatarinossaf, Kherson, and Taurida, archbishop ‡.

Archangel and Olonetz, bishop.

Vologda and Velikoy Usting, bishop.

Kostroma and Galitch, bishop.

Viatka and Velikaya Perme, bishop.

Tobolsk and Siberia, bishop.

\* Archimandrite, in the greek church, is much the same thing as bishop in other christian churches.

† This metropolitan has a coadjutor, who lives in the town of Sloutsk, beyond the frontier, and has the direction of the greek clergy residing in Poland.

‡ He is also vicar of the exarchy of Moldavia and Valakhia.

Smolensk



Smolensk and Dorogobuisk, bishop.

Tchernigof and Niejin, bishop.

Novgorod, Sieverskoy, and Glukhof, bishop.

Bielgorod and Kursk, bishop.

Orel and Sievsk, bishop.

Krutitzi, bishop.

Kolomna and Tula, bishop.

Riazane and Shatsk, bishop.

Susdal and Vladimir, bishop.

Nishney-Novgorod and Alatyr, bishop.

Tambof and Penza, bishop.

Voronetch, bishop.

Irkutsk and Nertchinsk, bishop.

The bishops enjoy in their dioceses the same rights and privileges as the archbishops. These dioceses, which are called eparchies, has each its peculiar consistory, and for the most part a seminary for the instruction of ecclesiastics. The number of religious houses may amount to 960, whereof those for nuns compose a fourth part. The greek churches are reckoned at about 18,350, and the whole number of ecclesiastics is calculated at 67,900.

Several of the bishops had formerly the honorary title of archbishops.

Before the erection of the patriarchate, the chief of the clergy was called metropolitan, and had his residence first at Kief, afterwards at Vladimir, and finally at Mosco. As the list of them all is not very long, we shall insert it from the chronicle:

AT KIEF.		
<i>Michael Syrus</i> , sent by		<i>Theopentus</i> - - - - 1048
the patriarch of Con-		<i>Hilarion</i> - - - - 1051
stantinople to be head		<i>Igor II.</i> - - - - 1071
of the clergy, in - 988		<i>Ivan II.</i> - - - - 1076
<i>Leontei</i> , or <i>Leon</i> - - 992		The three last were Russians,
<i>Ivan I.</i> - - - - 1008		and were chosen by the
<i>Igor Nikephor</i> - - - 1038		clergy.
		<i>Ivan III.</i> . . . - 1077
		<i>Ephraim</i>

<i>Ephraim</i> - - - - 1078	<i>Phocius</i> - - - - 1409
He received the bull from pope Urban II. for the feast of the translation of St. Nicholas.	He was deposed by a party of Russians, on account of his zeal for the schism, in - 1415
<i>Nikephor II.</i> - - - - 1103	<i>Isidore</i> - - - - 1438
<i>Niketa</i> - - - - 1132	Rejoins the latin church at the council of Florence, and is deposed in Russia, on his return, in - 1442
<i>Michael</i> - - - - 1142	The schism is thenceforward fixed and total.
<i>Cyril</i> - - - - 1161	
<i>Clement</i> - - - - 1165	
He was ordained in Russia, on account of the revival of the schism of the Greeks.	
<i>Constantine</i> - - - - 1176	<i>Jonas, or Jonathan</i> - 1448
<i>Theodore</i> - - - - 1182	<i>Theodosion</i> - - - - 1460
<i>Ivan IV.</i> - - - - 1191	<i>Philip I.</i> - - - - 1468
<i>Nikephor III.</i> - - - - 1195	<i>Hieronti</i> - - - - 1473
<i>Matthias</i> - - - - 1226	<i>Zosimus II.</i> - - - - 1489
<i>Cyril II.</i> - - - - 1238	<i>Simon</i> - - - - 1492
<i>Joseph of Nicæa</i> - - 1248	<i>Varlaam</i> - - - - 1511
<i>Cyril III.</i> - - - - 1252	<i>Daniel</i> - - - - 1522
<i>Maxime</i> - - - - 1283	<i>Joseph</i> - - - - 1539
AT VLADIMIR.	<i>Macarion</i> - - - - 1542
<i>Peter, the wonder-worker</i> - - - - 1308	<i>Athanasius</i> - - - - 1564
AT MOSCO.	<i>Philip II.</i> - - - - 1566
<i>Theognostus</i> - - - - 1328	<i>Cyril V.</i> - - - - 1568
<i>Alexius, the wonder-worker</i> - - - - 1353	<i>Anthony</i> - - - - 1570
<i>Zosimus, or Timen</i> - 1373	At his death, <i>Job</i> was appointed patriarch, in 1588: the succession under which title has been given in the former part of this article.
<i>Cyril IV.</i> - - - - 1376	
<i>Cyprian</i> - - - - 1378	

## No. II.

*The ORDINANCE, or UKAUSE, which rendered PETER so dear at first to the RUSSIAN Nobility, ran as follows :*

We Peter III. &c.

THE troubles and inconveniencies experienced by the wise sovereign our late dear grandfire, Peter the great, of immortal memory, in his endeavours for the good of his country, and for procuring his subjects a competent knowledge as well in military discipline, as in civil and political affairs, are known to all Europe, and the greater part of the globe.

In the attainment of this end, he found it necessary to begin by convincing the russian nobility, which is the first body of the state, of the immense advantages possessed by the nations well versed in the sciences and the arts, over those people who continue benighted in ignorance and sloth. The state of things at that time imperiously demanded that he should oblige his nobility to enter the military service and engage in civil functions; that he should send them to travel into foreign countries, that they might get a tincture of the useful arts and sciences, and therefore he established in his own country schools and academies, that the seeds of these his salutary regulations might be cherished in their growth, and more speedily matured. The nobility had the less reason to complain of the constraint thus laid upon them, as, independently of the utility both public and private that naturally resulted from it, it was their duty to concur with the wishes of an emperor to whom they were under so many obligations.

The execution of these projects seemed at first to be attended with the utmost difficulty. They were intolerable to the nobility, who saw themselves obliged to abandon a soft and indolent life, to quit their dwellings, to serve in war and in peace, and to enrol their children for future services. Several members of their body withdrew from the service,  
and



and were therefore deprived of their estates, which were confiscated, and that for the best of reasons. They rendered themselves criminal towards their country, which they basely deserted.

These excellent ordinances, though at the beginning inseparable from certain methods of constraint, have served as a model to all the successors of Peter the great, and especially to our dear aunt the empress Elizabeth Petrovna, of glorious memory; who, determined to follow the example of her father, encouraged, by a special protection, the advancement of the arts and sciences. Of this we are now reaping the fruits; and every impartial man will agree that they are considerable. Manners have been improved; minds indifferent to the happiness of the country have been roused from their fatal lethargy, and have habituated themselves to reflect on the public welfare; zeal in the service is augmented; generals, already valiant, are become experienced; intelligent ministers; enlightened magistrates; in a word, patriotism, love and attachment to our person, activity in all offices and posts, and every generous sentiment, are now the happy lot of the russian nation.—For all these reasons, we have judged it to be no longer necessary to compel into the service, as hitherto has been the practice, the nobility of our empire.

In consideration whereof, in virtue of the full power to us granted by God, and of our imperial especial grace, we grant to the russian nobility, from this moment and for ever, in the name of all our successors, permission to take service in our empire, as well as in all those of the european powers in alliance with us; and to this end we have given the following ordinance as a fundamental law, &c.

[Then follow nine articles concerning the terms on which liberty of resignation, of travelling abroad, of entering the service, &c. may be asked for and granted: concluding thus:]

Granting

Granting as we do, graciously and to perpetuity, to our nobility this franchise, making it a fundamental and unalterable law, we promise them equally on our imperial word, and in the most solemn manner, to observe the present ordinance sacredly and irrevocably, in all its tenor, and to maintain the prerogatives therein expressed.—Our successors on the throne ought not to alter it in any manner. The execution of our said ordinance being the principal support of the imperial throne, we hope that, from gratitude for this benefit, the russian nobility will serve us faithfully and zealously; and that, instead of withdrawing from our service, will enter it with eagerness, and that they will carefully educate their children.—We therefore command all our faithful subjects and true sons of the country, to despise and avoid those who have wasted their time in idleness, and who have not educated their children in the useful sciences, as people who have never had the public good at heart, who shall have no access to our court, nor be admitted to the public assemblies and the national festivities.

Given at St. Petersburg, Feb. 18, 1762.

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### No. III.

#### *PAPERS relating to the re-establishment of PEACE.*

*DECLARATION delivered by order of PETER III. EMPEROR of RUSSIA, to the IMPERIAL, FRENCH, and SWEDISH Ministers residing at St. PETERSBURG.*

HIS imperial majesty, who, upon his happy accession to the throne of his ancestors, looks upon it to be his principal duty to extend and augment the welfare of his subjects, fees with extreme regret, that the flames of the present war, which has already continued for six years, and has

been for a long time burthensome to all the powers engaged in it, far from tending now to a conclusion, are, on the contrary, gathering fresh strength, to the great misfortune of the several nations; and that mankind has so much the more to suffer from this scourge, as the fortune of arms, which has hitherto been subject to so many vicissitudes, is equally exposed to them for the future.

Wherefore his imperial majesty, compassionating, through his humane disposition, the effusion of innocent blood, and being desirous, on his part, of putting a stop to so great an evil, has judged it necessary to declare to the courts in alliance with Russia, that, preferring to every other consideration the first law which God prescribes to sovereigns, which is the preservation of the people intrusted to them, he wishes to procure peace to his empire, to which it is so necessary, and of so great value; and, at the same time, to contribute, as much as may be in his power, to the re-establishment of it throughout all Europe.

It is in order to this, that his imperial majesty is ready to make a sacrifice of the conquests made by the arms of Russia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts will, on their part, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the advantages which they might expect from the war, and which they cannot obtain but by the continuance of the effusion of human blood. And to this end his imperial majesty, with the best intention, advises them to employ, on their side, all their power towards the accomplishment of so great and so salutary a work.

St. Petersburg, Feb.  $\frac{12}{23}$ , 1762.

*The ANSWER of the EMPRESS-QUEEN to the foregoing  
DECLARATION.*

THAT animated with the same zeal, and being of the same opinion, as his imperial majesty, with regard to the salutary work of peace, and to the putting an end to the troubles and ravages that desolate Germany, she was ready



to concur with him therein; but that, for that end, she desired his imperial majesty to furnish her with the means of beginning the negotiation, by imparting to her the proposed terms of peace, which she would, without loss of time, communicate to her high allies, who, as well as herself, would be always ready to co-operate in a matter so much desired, provided the terms were not inadmissible, and contained nothing injurious either to their honour, or her honour.

*The ANSWER given by the FRENCH COURT to the aforesaid  
DECLARATION.*

THE king maintaining with regret, these six years past, a twofold war for his own defence and that of his allies, has sufficiently manifested, on every occasion, how much he abhors the effusion of human blood, and his constant desire to put an end to so cruel a scourge. His personal disinterestedness, the steps which he thought could be taken consistent with his dignity, and the sacrifices which he did offer, in order to procure to Europe the desirable blessing of peace, are sure pledges of the humane sentiments with which his heart abounds. But, at the same time, his paternal tenderness, which makes the happiness and preservation of his subjects a duty to him, cannot make him forget the first law that God prescribes to sovereigns, even that which constitutes the public safety, and fixes the condition of nations and empires, fidelity in executing treaties, and punctuality in performing engagements to their full extent, preferably to every other consideration.

It is with this view, that after having given so great examples of constancy and generosity, his majesty declares that he is ready to listen favourably to propositions for a solid and honourable peace, but will always act in the most perfect concert with his allies; that he will receive no counsels but such as shall be dictated to him by honour and probity; that he should think himself guilty of a defection, in lending a hand to secret negotiations; that he will not tar-

nish his glory, and that of his kingdom, by abandoning his allies; and that he rests assured each of them will, on their part, faithfully adhere to the same principle.

*ANSWER given by the KING of POLAND, ELECTOR of SAXONY, to the same DECLARATION.*

ALL my allies wish as much as myself, that the public tranquillity may be restored upon solid foundations. It is well known to all Europe, that I did not seek the war; but, on the contrary, employed every means to keep the calamities of it at a distance from my dominions. My love to mankind in general, and to my own subjects in particular, ought to engage me to facilitate, as much as in me lies, the restoration of peace, and to exercise all moderation as to my equitable pretensions. I am of opinion, that a just and solid peace cannot be agreed on but by the congress proposed and accepted by all the powers at war.

I place a full confidence in the friendship of your imperial majesty, to whom the house of Saxony is bound by sacred ties. It is not unknown to your majesty, that Saxony hath been attacked merely on account of its connections with the russian empire; and that the king of Prussia has taken occasion to charge us with entering into defensive treaties with that empire against him. We therefore flatter ourselves with the hope, that so ancient and so equitable an ally of Saxony will not suffer our dominions, which are already reduced to the utmost distress, as well by exorbitant contributions, as by the alienation of our revenues, and of the funds which were allotted for the payment of debts, to be completely ruined.

The whole world agrees, that we are entitled to an equitable restitution and reparation of the damage sustained. But notwithstanding all these considerations, and though all the powers at war shew themselves inclined to contribute to the general pacification, yet Saxony remains threatened with irretrievable ruin.

We therefore hope that your majesty's philanthropy and magnanimity will prevail with your majesty to take care that,

before all things, the electorate of Saxony be speedily evacuated, in order thereby to put an end to the calamities which overwhelm it; this being the means of facilitating and accelerating the conclusion of a general peace.

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### No. IV.

*MANIFESTO of the EMPRESS CATHARINE II. which was caused to be printed and distributed about the City.*

By the grace of God, Catharine II. empress and autocratix of all the Russias, &c.

ALL true sons of Russia have clearly seen the great danger to which the whole russian empire has actually been exposed, First, the foundations of our orthodox greek religion have been shaken, and its traditions exposed to total destruction; so that there was absolutely reason to fear, that the faith which has been established in Russia from the earliest times, would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced. In the second place, the glory which Russia has acquired at the expence of so much blood, and which was carried to the highest pitch by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by the peace lately concluded with its most dangerous enemy. And lastly, the domestic regulations, which are the basis of the country's welfare, have been entirely overturned.

For these causes, overcome by the imminent perils with which our faithful subjects were threatened, and seeing how sincere and express their desires on this matter were; we, putting our trust in the Almighty and his divine justice, have ascended the sovereign imperial throne of all the Russias, and have received a solemn oath of fidelity from all our loving subjects.

St. Petersburg, June 28, 1762.



## No. V.

MANIFESTO of the EMPRESS CATHARINE II. *giving an account of her motives for taking the reins of government into her hands.*

By the grace of God, we Catharine II. empress and sovereign of all the Russias, make known these presents to all our loving subjects, ecclesiastical, military, and civil.

OUR accession to the imperial throne of all the Russias, is a manifest proof of this truth, that when sincere hearts endeavour for good, the hand of God directs them. We never had either design or desire to arrive at empire, through the means by which it hath pleased the Almighty, according to the inscrutable views of his providence, to place us upon the throne of Russia, our dear country.

On the death of our most august and dear aunt, the empress Elizabeth Petrovna, of glorious memory, all true patriots (now our most faithful subjects) groaning for the loss of so tender a mother, placed their only consolation in obeying her nephew, whom she had named for her successor, that they might shew thereby, in some degree, their acknowledgments to their deceased sovereign. And although they soon found out the weakness of his mind, unfit to rule so vast an empire, they imagined he would have known his own insufficiency. Whereupon they sought our maternal assistance in the affairs of government,

But when absolute power falls to the lot of a monarch, who has not sufficient virtue and humanity to place just bounds to it, it degenerates into a fruitful source of the most pernicious evils. This is the sum, in short, of what our native country has suffered. She struggled to be delivered from a sovereign who, being blindly given up to the most dangerous passions, thought of nothing but indulging them, without employing himself in the welfare of the empire committed to his care.

During the time of his being grand-duke, and heir to the throne of Russia, he often caused the most bitter griefs to his most august aunt and sovereign, (the truth of which is known to all our court,) however he might behave himself outwardly; being kept under her eye by her tenderness, he looked upon this mark of affection as an insupportable yoke. He could not, however, disguise himself so well, but it was perceived by all our faithful subjects, that he was possessed of the most audacious ingratitude, which he sometimes shewed by personal contempt, sometimes by an avowed hatred to the nation. At length, throwing aside his cloak of hypocrisy, he thought it more fit to let loose the bridle of his passions, than conduct himself as the heir of so great an empire. In a word, the least traces of honour were not to be perceived in him. What were the consequences of all this?

He was scarcely assured that the death of his aunt and benefactress approached, but he banished her memory entirely from his mind; nay, even before she had sent forth her last groan. He only cast an eye of contempt on the corpse exposed on the bier; and as the ceremony at that time required obliged him to approach it, he did it with his eyes manifestly replete with joy; even intimating his ingratitude by his words. I might add, that the obsequies would have been nothing equal to the dignity of so great and magnanimous a sovereign, if our tender respect to her, cemented by the ties of blood, and the extreme affection between us, had not made us take that duty upon us.

He imagined that it was not to the Supreme Being, but only to chance, that he was indebted for absolute power; and that he had it in his hands, not for the good of his subjects, but solely for his own satisfaction. Adding, therefore, licence to absolute power, he made all the changes in the state which the weakness of his mind could suggest, to the oppression of the people.

Having effaced from his heart even the least traces of the holy orthodox religion, (though he had been sufficiently taught

taught the principles thereof,) he began first by rooting out this true religion, established so long in Russia, by absenting himself from the house of God, and of prayers, in so open a manner, that some of his subjects, excited by conscience and honesty, seeing his irreverence and contempt of the rites of the church, or rather the railleries he made of them, and scandalizing them by his behaviour, dared to make remonstrances to him concerning it; who, for so doing, scarcely escaped the resentment which they might have expected from so capricious a sovereign, whose power was not limited by any human laws. He even intended to destroy the churches, and ordered some to be pulled down. He prohibited those to have chapels in their own houses, whose infirmities hindered them from visiting the house of God. Thus he would have domineered over the faithful, in endeavouring to stifle in them the fear of God, which the holy scripture teaches us to be the beginning of wisdom.

From this want of zeal towards God, and contempt of his laws, resulted that scorn to the civil and natural laws of his kingdom; for having but an only son, which God had given us, the grand-duke Paul Petrovitch, he would not, when he ascended the throne of Russia, declare him for his successor; that being reserved for his caprice, which tended to the detriment of us and of our son, having an inclination to overthrow the right that his aunt had vested in him, and to make the government of our native country pass into the hands of strangers; in opposition to that maxim of natural right, according to which nobody can transmit to another more than he has received himself.

Although with great grief we saw this intention, we did not believe that we ourselves, and our most dear son, should have been exposed to a persecution so severe: but all persons of probity having observed that the measures that he pursued, by their effects, manifested that they had a natural tendency to our ruin, and that of our dear successor, their generous and pious hearts were justly alarmed; animated with zeal for the interest of their native country, and astonished



nished at our patience under these heavy persecutions, they secretly informed us, that our life was in danger, in order to engage us to undertake the burthen of governing so large an empire.

While the whole nation were on the point of testifying their disapprobation of his measures, he nevertheless continued to grieve them the more, by subverting all those excellent arrangements established by Peter the great, our most dear predecessor, of glorious memory, which that true father of his country accomplished by indefatigable pains and labour through the whole course of a reign of thirty years. The late Peter the third despised the laws of the empire, and her most respectable tribunals, to such a degree that he could not even bear to hear them mentioned.

After one bloody war, he rashly entered upon another, in which the interests of Russia were no way concerned. He entertained an insuperable aversion to the regiments of guards, which had faithfully served his illustrious ancestors, and made innovations in the army, which, far from exciting in their breasts noble sentiments of valour, only served to discourage troops always ready to spill their best blood in the cause of their country. He changed entirely the face of the army; nay, it even seemed that, by dividing their habits into so many uniforms, and giving them so many different embellishments, for the most part fantastical to the greatest degree, he intended to infuse into them a suspicion that they did not, in effect, belong to one master, and thereby provoke the soldiers, in the heat of battle, to slay one another; although experience demonstrated that uniformity in dress had not a little contributed towards unanimity.

Inconsiderately and incessantly bent on pernicious regulations, he so alienated the hearts of his subjects, that there was scarcely a single person to be found in the nation who did not openly express his disapprobation, and was even desirous to take away his life; but the laws of God, which command

mand sovereign princes to be respected, being deeply engraved on the hearts of our faithful subjects, restrained them, and engaged them to wait with patience, till the hand of God struck the important blow, and by his fall delivered an oppressed people. Under those circumstances, now laid before the impartial eyes of the public, it was, in fact, impossible but our soul should be troubled with those impending woes which threatened our country; and with that persecution which we, and our most dear son, the heir of the russian throne, unjustly suffered; being almost entirely excluded from the imperial palace; in such sort, that all who had regard for us, or rather those who had courage enough to speak it (for we have not been able to find that there is one person who is not devoted to our interest) by expressing their sentiments of respect due to us, as their empress, endangered their life, or at least their fortune. In fine, the endeavours he made to ruin us, rose to such a pitch, that they broke out in public; and then charging us with being the cause of the murmurs, which his own imprudent measures occasioned, his resolution to take away our life openly appeared. But being informed of his purpose by some of our trusty subjects, who were determined to deliver their country, or perish in the attempt, relying on the aid of the Almighty, we cheerfully exposed our person to danger, with all that magnanimity which our native country had a right to expect in return for her affection to us. After having invoked the Most High, and reposed our hope in the divine favour, we resolved also either to sacrifice our life for our country, or save it from bloodshed and calamity. Scarcely had we taken this resolution, by the direction of favouring Heaven, and declared our assent to the deputies of the empire, than the orders of the state crowded to give us assurances of their fidelity and submission.

It now remained for us, in pursuance of the love we bore our faithful subjects, to prevent the consequences which we apprehended, in case of the late emperor's inconsiderately placing his confidence in the imaginary power of the holstein troops,

troops, (for whose sake he stayed at Oranienbaum, living in indolence, and abandoning the most pressing exigencies of the state,) and there occasioning a carnage, to which our guards and other regiments were ready to expose themselves, for the sake of their native country, for ours, and that of our successor. For these reasons we looked upon it as a necessary duty towards our subjects (to which we were immediately called by the voice of God) to prevent so great a misfortune, by prompt and proper measures. Therefore, placing ourselves at the head of the body-guards, regiments of artillery, and other troops in and about the imperial residence, we undertook to disconcert an iniquitous design, of which we were as yet only informed in part.

But scarcely were we got out of the city, before we received two letters from the late emperor, one quick on the heels of the other. The first by our vice-chancellor the prince Gallitzin, entreating us to allow him to return to Holstein, his native dominions; the other by major-general Michael Ismailoff, by which he declared, that of his own proper motion he renounced the crown and throne of Russia. In this last he begged of us to allow him to withdraw to Holstein with Elizabeth Vorontzoff and Goudovitch. These two last letters, stuffed with flattering expressions, came to our hands a few hours after he had given orders for putting us to death, as we have been since informed from the very persons who were appointed to execute those unnatural orders.

In the mean time, he had still resources left him, which were to arm against us his holstein troops, and some small detachments then about his person; he had also in his power several personages of distinction belonging to our court; as he might therefore have compelled us to agree to terms of accommodation still more hurtful to our country, (for after having learned what great commotions there were among the people, he had detained them as hostages at his palace of Oranienbaum, and our humanity would never have consented to their destruction, but, to save their  
their



their lives, we would have risked seeing a part of those dangers revived by an accommodation,) several persons of high rank about our person requested us to send him a billet in return, proposing to him, if his intentions were such as he declared them to be, that he should instantly send us a voluntary and formal renunciation of the throne, wrote by his own hand, for the public satisfaction. Major-general Ismailoff carried this proposal, and the writing he now sent back was as follows :

*During the short space of my absolute reign over the empire of Russia, I became sensible that I was not able to support so great a burden, and that my abilities were not equal to the task of governing so great an empire, either as a sovereign, or in any other capacity whatever. I also foresaw the great troubles which must have from thence arisen, and have been followed with the total ruin of the empire, and covered me with eternal disgrace. After having therefore seriously reflected thereon, I declare, without constraint, and in the most solemn manner, to the russian empire, and to the whole universe, that I for ever renounce the government of the said empire, never desiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an absolute sovereign, or under any other form of government ; never wishing to aspire thereto, or to use any means, of any sort, for that purpose. As a pledge of which, I swear sincerely, before God and all the world, to this present renunciation, written and signed this 29th of June 1762. O. S.*

PETER.

It is thus, without spilling one drop of blood, that we have ascended the russian throne, by the assistance of God, and the approving suffrages of our dear country.—Humbly adoring the decrees of Divine Providence, we assure our faithful subjects, that we will not fail, by night and by day, to invoke the Most High to bless our sceptre, and enable us to wield it for the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the security and defence of our dear native country, and the support of justice ; as well as to put an end to all miseries, iniquities, and violences, by strengthening and fortifying our heart for the public good. And as we ardently wish

to

to prove effectually how far we merit the reciprocal love of our people, for whose happiness we acknowledge our throne to be appointed, we solemnly promise, on our imperial word, to make such arrangements in the empire, that the government may be endued with an intrinsic force to support itself within limited and proper bounds; and each department of the state provided with wholesome laws and regulations, sufficient to maintain good order therein, at all times, and under all circumstances.

By which means we hope to establish hereafter the empire and our sovereign power, (however they may have been formerly weakened,) in such a manner as to comfort the discouraged hearts of all true patriots. We do not in the least doubt but that our loving subjects will, as well for the salvation of their own souls, as for the good of religion, inviolably observe the oath which they have sworn to us in the presence of the Almighty God; we thereupon assure them of our imperial favour.

Done at Petersburg, July 6, 1762.

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## No. VI.

*DECLARATION published by the EMPRESS CATHARINE II.  
upon recalling Count BESTUCHEFF RIUMIN from his banishment in SIBERIA.*

THE most ordinary understanding cannot be ignorant of the intimate obligation which all mankind contract towards God and towards each other, to transgress on no occasion whatever the demands of justice, and especially not to heap misfortunes and oppression on the head of the innocent.

Ere we mounted our imperial throne of Russia, we were well acquainted with the long and signal services rendered to this empire by the unfortunate but irreproachable count Bestucheff Riumin. Her public decrees of the 27th of February

February 1758, induced us to presume that the crime which had drawn upon him so severe an animadversion on the part of our dear aunt the empress Elizabeth, must have been very heinous; but the second manifesto, of the 6th of April 1759, which contained a vague detail of the crimes attributed to him, and whereof none were specified, obliged us to suspend our judgment, and led us to suspect that the indignation of that humane sovereign, and the vengeance to which she had been brought, were no more than the effects of calumny and intrigue; for the contents of this second manifesto related not to a malefactor, but to an oppressed man condemned beforehand.

From our natural humanity we have thought fit to soften the severity of the sentence, to pardon the guilty rather than to leave in oblivion the services which the said count Bestucheff rendered during so many years to our empire, and to let him (which would have been still more blamable) terminate his days in an ignominious exile.

As soon therefore as Providence placed the sceptre in our hand, submissive to the emotions of our sensibility, and to the voice of justice, we have recalled from his exile that old and faithful servant of our empire; but, not ignorant of our readiness to hearken to the dictates of justice, he, presenting himself before us, has humbly implored the permission to make his innocence appear to our eyes, a permission which we granted him with all our heart; and, after having specified the intrigues and the calumnies, which appeared to us authenticated and clearer than light, he excited in our heart the most lively compassion. We experienced at the same time a tender satisfaction, on perceiving that the liberty to which we restored him was in perfect agreement with that love of order and justice by which we commenced our reign.

His example has convinced us, that the more weighty the accusation, the more severe ought the examination to be, as without this precaution sentence of condemnation may fall upon an innocent person. Granting that our very dear aunt  
the



the empress Elizabeth had, to our knowledge and to that of the whole world, great intelligence and sagacity; nevertheless, as no one is infallible . . . . . the affair of count Bestucheff took a turn highly disadvantageous to the honour of our dear aunt. . . . .

For these reasons, desirous of restoring the lustre of her name, and the virtues which guided her reign, and to prove how much we cherish her memory, and to fulfil with exactitude the duty of every christian, as becomes a mother of the country, we have thought ourselves obliged to declare solemnly that the said count Bestucheff Riumin was deserving, in the highest degree, of the confidence of our deceased aunt, &c. . . . .

Given at St. Petersburg, this 13th of August 1762.

## NO. VII.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from the EMPRESS of RUSSIA, to M. D'ALEMBERT, at PARIS, whom she had invited into RUSSIA to educate her SON.

M. D'ALEMBERT,

I HAVE just received the answer you wrote to Mr. Odart, in which you refuse to transplant yourself to assist in the education of my son. I easily conceive that it costs a philosopher, like you, nothing to despise what the world calls grandeur and honour: these, in your eyes, are very little; and I can readily agree with you that they are so. Considering things in this light, there would be nothing great in the behaviour of queen Christina [of Sweden] which has been so highly extolled; and often censured with more justice. But to be born and called to contribute to the happiness and even the instruction of a whole nation, and yet decline it, is, in my opinion, refusing to do that good which you wish to do.

Your

Your philosophy is founded in a love to mankind : permit me then to tell you, that to refuse to serve mankind, whilst it is in your power, is to miss your aim. I know you too well to be a good man, to ascribe your refusal to vanity. I know that the sole motive of it is the love of ease, and leisure to cultivate letters and the friendship of those you esteem. But what is there in this objection ? Come, with all your friends ; I promise both them and you, every conveniency and advantage that depends upon me ; and perhaps you will find more liberty and ease here, than in your native country. You refused the invitation of the king of Prussia, notwithstanding your obligations to him ; but that prince has no son. I own to you, that I have the education of my son so much at heart, and I think you so necessary to it, that perhaps I press you with too much earnestness. Excuse my indiscretion for the sake of the occasion of it ; and be assured that it is my esteem for you that makes me so urgent.

Mosco,

CATHARINE.

Nov. 13, 1762.

In this whole letter I have argued only from what I have found in your writings : you would not contradict yourself.

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### No. VIII.

*The DECLARATION which the EMPRESS caused to be delivered to the Foreign Ministers.*

THE style of IMPERIAL, which Peter the great, of glorious memory, assumed, or rather revived for himself and his successors, has long appertained as well to the sovereigns as to the crown and to the monarchy of all the Russias.

Her imperial majesty regards as contrary to the substance of that principle, all renewal of the reversals which have been given successively to every potentate on its acknowledgment of that title. In consequence whereof, her majesty has

has just given orders to her minister to make a general declaration, that the style of IMPERIAL being by its very nature once attached to the crown and to the monarchy of Russia, and perpetuated for a long course of years and successions, neither herself, nor her successors for ever, can any more renew the said reversals, and still less preserve any correspondence with the powers who shall refuse to acknowledge the imperial title in the persons of the sovereigns of all the Russias, as well as in their crown and their monarchy: and to the end that this declaration may terminate for ever all difficulties in a matter which ought not to admit of any, her majesty, in conformity to the declaration of Peter the great, declares that the style of IMPERIAL shall communicate no alteration to the ceremonial in use among courts, which shall remain always on the same footing.

(Signed) VORONTZOFF.

Mosco, Nov. 21, 1762.

B. A. GALLITZIN.

[The ambassador Breteuil having transmitted this declaration to Versailles, Lewis XV. wrote the following answer, which was delivered to the ministers of Catharine:]

Titles are of themselves nothing. They possess no other reality than inasmuch as they are acknowledged, and their value depends on the idea attached to them, and the extent given to them by those who have the right to admit them, to reject them, or to limit them.—Sovereigns themselves cannot attribute to themselves titles at their own choice; the consent of their subjects is not sufficient; that of the other powers is necessary; and every crown, at liberty to acknowledge or to refuse a new title, may also adopt it with such modifications and conditions as are agreeable to it.

Agreeably to this principle, Peter I. and his successors to the empress Elizabeth, have never been known in France but under the denomination of TZAR.—That princess is the first of all the sovereigns of Russia to whom the king granted the style IMPERIAL; but it was under the express condition that this title should communicate no prejudice to the ceremonial in use between the two courts.

The



The empress Elizabeth subscribed, without scruple, this condition, and explained herself on that head most circumstantially in the reversal framed by her order, and signed in the month of March 1745, by the counts Bestucheff and Vorontzoff.—The daughter of Peter I. therein testifies her entire satisfaction. She therein acknowledges, that it is *from friendship, and from a truly peculiar attention of the king to her, that his majesty had condescended to the acknowledgment of the style of imperial, which other powers had already conceded; and she confesses that this complaisance of the king of France is highly agreeable to her.*

The king, actuated by the same sentiments for the empress Catharine II. makes no hesitation in granting to her at present the style of IMPERIAL, and to acknowledge it in her, as attached to the throne of Russia: but his majesty means that this acknowledgment should be made under the same conditions as under the two foregoing reigns; and he declares, that, if hereafter any one of the successors of the empress Catharine, unmindful of this solemn and reciprocal engagement, shall think proper to form any pretension contrary to the usage uniformly followed between the two courts, concerning rank and precedence; from that moment, the crown of France, by an equitable reciprocity, shall resume its antient style, and cease to give the style of IMPERIAL to that of Russia.

This declaration, tending to prevent all subject of difficulty for the future, is a proof of the friendship of the king for the empress, and of the sincere desire he has to establish between the two courts a solid and unalterable union.

(Signed) PRASLIN.

Done at Versailles, Jan. 18, 1763.

## No. IX.

SUBSTANCE of a MEMORIAL delivered on the 16th of July,  
by the CHANCELLOR of RUSSIA to the POLISH RESIDENT  
at PETERSBURG.

IN this memorial her imperial majesty first sets forth her great love of peace, and how careful she has been to preserve it; and then proceeds thus: " Filled with these sentiments, " it is with regret, that the empress sees his Polish majesty " follow different maxims with regard to her, and make no " return to her friendly proceedings but by proceedings " directly opposite.

" In the first place, in the affair of Courland, her imperial majesty, attentive to every thing that concerned the dignity " of the king of Poland, has not ceased to claim his justice, " in which she always placed the greatest confidence.

" Secondly, she has not only paid all possible regard to the " representations made to her, touching the damage which " the Poles might have suffered by the passage of the russian " troops; but even at this moment she waits only for the " naming of commissaries by the republic, to settle and give " orders for indemnification.

" Her imperial majesty is not content with convincing his " Polish majesty of her friendship in those two general " objects which regard the respective estates; she has no less " at heart the giving proofs of her personal regard for his " majesty and his family. She has already interested herself, " and will still interest herself, at every favourable opportunity, to procure a proper establishment for his royal highness the king's son, prince Charles: nevertheless, his " majesty the king of Poland has hitherto refused to listen " to any overtures for an accommodation, or for making " satisfaction for the many complaints of the empress: not " to mention the treaty of perpetual peace established " between Russia and the republic of Poland, and which has  
" been

" been infringed by Poland, in many points; her imperial  
 " majesty complains, first, that, notwithstanding the requi-  
 " sition made by her ambassador, the king has not given her  
 " satisfaction with regard to the irregular conduct of the  
 " four ministers, who signed a memorial highly offensive  
 " to the court of Russia and its sovereign. Secondly, that  
 " the king has not yet acknowledged the lawful duke  
 " of Courland. Thirdly, that the laws and liberties of  
 " Poland are oppressed, as well as the friends of Russia, who  
 " are kept from all employments, and from all favours,  
 " because they support liberty and the laws; and who, on  
 " that very account, merit the protection of Russia; who,  
 " being the guarantee of the rights of the republic, must not  
 " suffer any change in its constitution, but must be its firmest  
 " support," &c.

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### No. X.

*MANIFESTO published by the Court of PETERSBURG, on  
 occasion of the Death of Prince IVAN.*

By the grace of God, we Catharine the second, em-  
 press and sovereign of all the Russias, &c. to all  
 whom these presents may concern.

WHEN, by the divine will, and in compliance with the  
 ardent and unanimous desires of our faithful subjects, we  
 ascended the throne of Russia, we were not ignorant that  
 Ivan, son of Anthony, prince of Brunswic-Wolfenbuttle,  
 and the princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, was still alive.  
 This prince, as is well known, was, immediately after his  
 birth, unlawfully declared heir to the imperial crown of  
 Russia; but, by the decrees of Providence, he was soon  
 after irrevocably excluded from that high dignity, and the  
 sceptre placed in the hands of the lawful heirs, Elizabeth,  
 daughter



daughter of Peter the great, our beloved aunt of glorious memory. After we had ascended the throne, and offered up to heaven our just thanksgivings, the first object that employed our thoughts, in consequence of that humanity that is natural to us, was the unhappy situation of that prince, who was dethroned by the Divine Providence, and had been unfortunate ever since his birth; and we formed the resolution of alleviating his misfortunes, as far as was possible. We immediately made a visit to him, in order to judge of his understanding and talents, and, in consequence thereof, to procure him an agreeable and quiet situation, suitable to his character, and the education he had received. But how great was our surprise, when, besides a defect in his utterance, that was uneasy to himself, and rendered his discourse almost unintelligible to others, we observed in him a total privation of sense and reason! Those who accompanied us during this interview saw how much our heart suffered at the view of an object so fitted to excite compassion; they were also convinced that the only measure we could take to succour the unfortunate prince, was to leave him where we found him, and to procure him all the comforts and conveniences that his situation would admit of. We accordingly gave our orders for this purpose, though the state he was in prevented his perceiving the marks of our humanity, or being sensible of our attention and care; for he knew nobody, could not distinguish between good and evil, nor did he know the use that might be made of reading, to pass the time with less weariness and disgust: on the contrary, he sought after pleasure in objects that discovered, with sufficient evidence, the disorder of his imagination.

To prevent, therefore, ill-intentioned persons from giving him any trouble, or from making use of his name or orders to disturb the public tranquillity, we gave him a guard, and placed about his person two officers of the garrison, in whose fidelity and integrity we could confide. These officers were captain Vlassieff and lieutenant Tschekin, who, by their long military services, which had considerably impaired their

their health, deserved a suitable recompence, and a station in which they might pass quietly the rest of their days; they were accordingly charged with the care of the prince, and were strictly enjoined to let none approach him. Yet all these precautions were not sufficient to prevent an abandoned profligate from committing at Schlusselfburg, with unparalleled wickedness, and at the risk of his own life, an outrage, whose enormity inspires horror. A second lieutenant of the regiment of Smolensko, a native of the Ukraine, named Basil Mirovitch, grandson of the first rebel that followed Mazeppa, and a man in whom the perjury of his ancestors seems to have been infused with their blood; this profligate, having passed his days in debauchery and dissipation, and being thus deprived of all honourable means of advancing his fortune; having also lost sight of what he owed to the law of God, and of the oath of allegiance he had taken to us; and knowing prince Ivan only by name, without any knowledge either of his bodily or mental qualities; took it into his head to make use of this prince to advance his fortune at all events, without being restrained by the consideration of the bloody scene, that such an attempt was adapted to occasion. In order to execute this detestable, dangerous, and desperate project, he desired, during our absence in Livonia, to be upon guard, out of his turn, in the fortress of Schlusselfburg, where the guard is relieved every eight days; and the 15th of last month, about two o'clock in the morning, he all of a sudden called up the main guard, formed it into a line, and ordered the soldiers to load with ball. Berednikoff, governor of the fortress, having heard a noise, came out of his apartment, and asked Mirovitch the reason of this disturbance, but received no other answer from this rebel than a blow on the head with the butt-end of his musket. Mirovitch, having wounded and arrested the governor, led on his troop with fury, and attacked with fire-arms the handful of soldiers that guarded prince Ivan. But he was so warmly received

by those soldiers under the command of the two officers mentioned above, that he was obliged to retire. By a particular direction of that providence that watches over the life of man, there was that night a thick mist, which, together with the inward form and situation of the fortress, had this happy effect, that not one individual was either killed or wounded. The bad success of this first attempt could not engage this enemy of the public peace to desist from his rebellious purpose. Driven on by rage and despair, he ordered a piece of cannon to be brought from one of the bastions, which order was immediately executed. Captain Vlassieff and his lieutenant Tschekin, seeing that it was impossible to resist such a superior force, and considering the unhappy consequences that must ensue from the deliverance of a person that was committed to their care, and the effusion of innocent blood that must follow from the tumults it was adapted to excite, took, after deliberating together, the only step that they thought proper to maintain the public tranquillity, which was to cut short the days of the unfortunate prince. Considering also, that if they set at liberty a prisoner, whom this desperate party endeavoured to force with such violence out of their hands, they ran the risk of being punished according to the rigour of the laws, they assassinated the prince, without being restrained by the apprehension of being put to death by a villain reduced to despair. The monster (Mirovitch), seeing the dead body of the prince, was so confounded and struck at a sight he so little expected, that he acknowledged, that very instant, his temerity and his guilt, and discovered his repentance to the troop which about an hour before he had seduced from their duty, and rendered the accomplices of his crime.

Then it was, that the two officers, who had nipped this rebellion in the bud, joined with the governor of the fortress, in securing the person of this rebel, and in bringing back the soldiers to their duty. They also sent to our privy-counsellor Panin, under whose orders they acted, a relation  
of



of this event, which, though unhappy, has nevertheless, under the protection of Heaven, been the occasion of preventing still greater calamities. This senator dispatched immediately lieutenant-colonel Kaschkin, with sufficient instructions to maintain the public tranquillity, to prevent disorder on the spot, (*i. e.* where the assassination was committed,) and sent us, at the same time, a courier with a circumstantial account of the whole affair. In consequence of this, we ordered lieutenant-general Weymarn, of the division of St. Petersburg, to take the necessary informations upon the spot; this he has done, and has sent us accordingly the interrogatories, depositions, and the confession of the villain himself, who has acknowledged his guilt.

Sensible of the enormity of his crime, and of its consequences with regard to the peace of our country, we have referred the whole affair to the consideration of our senate, which we have ordered, jointly with the synod, to invite the three first classes, and the presidents of all the colleges, to hear the verbal relation of general Weymarn, who has taken the proper informations; to pronounce sentence in consequence thereof; and, after that sentence has been signed, to present it to us for our confirmation of the same.

The original is signed by her imperial majesty's own hand.

CATHARINE.

## No. XI.

ALPHABETICAL LIST of the TOWNS of the RUSSIAN EMPIRE, shewing in what Government they lie, and how many Versts distant from the Residence, from the Metropolis, and from their respective Government Towns, as far as could be collected from the Accounts delivered to CATHERINE II.

The names of the government towns are distinguished by *italics*.

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Petersburg.	Versts from Moscow.	Versts from government-town.
Aktyrka	Kharkoff	1453	723	106
Aklansk	Irkutsk	10497	9767	4674
Alapayefsk	Perme			510
Alatyr	Simbirsk	1358	618	133
Alexandriya	Ekatarinossavl			184
Alexandrof	Vladimir	824	101	117
Alexandrofsk	Caucasus			150
Alexin	Tula	860	130	60
Alexopol	Ekatarinossavl			115
<i>Archangel</i>		1145	1236	
Ardatoff	Nishnè-Novgorod			150
Ardatoff on Alatyr	Simbirsk	1337	597	148
Arensberg	Riga	626	1356	319
Arlamas	Nishnè-Novgorod	1120	380	109
Arsk	Kasan	1463	735	55
Asoff	Ekatarinossavl	1998	1268	625
Astrakhan	Caucasus	2142	1412	630
Atkarisk	Saratoff	1630	902	79
Atschinsk	Tobolsk	4694	3964	1809
Babinovitschi	Mohileff			111
Bachmut	Ekatarinossavl	1490	760	368
Balachna	Nishnè-Novgorod	1145	415	32
Balaschoff	Saratoff			244
Baltic port	Reval	394	1122	44
Bargusinsk	Irkutsk	6345	5617	524
Belebey	Ufa			139
Beresin	Tschernigoff			36
				Beresoff

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterfb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from govern- ment- town.
Bereffoff	Tobolsk	3814	3084	929
Bieleff	Tula	973	239	120
Bielgorod	Kursk	1356	626	132
Bielitza	Mohileff			194
Bieloy	Smolensk	709	410	143
Bielopolye	Kharkoff	1585	857	217
Bieloserfsk	Novgorod	569	540	532
Bielovodsk	Voronetskh	1545	803	307
Biezvesk	Tver	625	287	121
Biisk	Kolhyvan			260
Biryutskh	Voronetskh	1357	617	150
Birsk	Ufa	1927	1197	105
Bobroff	Voronetskh	1265	535	87
Bogatye	Kursk	1330	600	106
Bogodukhoff	Kharkoff	1471	741	60
Bogoroditzk	Tula	957	227	45
Bogorodsk	Mosco			50
Bogutshchar	Voronetskh	1475	735	238
Bolkhoff	Orel	1020	290	54
Borisfogleysk	Yaroslavl	*	†	32
Borisfogleysk on the Vorona	Tamboff	1359	629	152
Borovitschi	Novgorod	360	454	183
Borofsk	Kaluga	893	163	78
Borfna	Tchernigoff	1396	666	90
Briansk	Orel	1077	347	138
Bronnitsy	Mosco	781	51	
Bugulma	Ufa	1687	957	220
Buguruslan	Ufa			279
Bui	Kostroma	932	396	130
Buinsk	Simbirsk	1462	722	70
Busuluk	Ufa			375
Cronstadt	St. Petersburg	47	777	
Dalmatoff	Perme			510
Daniloff	Yaroslavl	810	316	63
Dankoff	Riazane	950	220	158
Defchkin	Orel	1060	330	58
St. Dmitri fort	Ekatarinoslav	1968	1238	595
Dmitriyef	Kursk	1241	511	99

\* By the way of Uglitsch 814, by the way of Pofchek 797.

† By the way of Yaroslavl and Rost. 273, by the way of Pofchek 265.

Dmitroff



Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
Dmitroff	Mosco	702	62	
Dmitrofsk	Orel	1181	451	84
Dnieprofsk	Tavrida			300
Donetz	Ekatarinossavl			443
Dorogobush	Smolensk	793	298	86
Doroninsk	Irkutsk	6644	5964	871
Dorpat	Riga	319	1049	230
Driezin	Polotsk	691	697	68
Dukhofshina	Smolensk	727	363	51
Dynaburg	Polotsk	794	800	173
Ekatarinenburg	Perme	2308	1578	358
<del>Ekatarinossavl</del>		1596	868	
Elizabethgrad	Ekatarinossavl	1759	1411	211
Epiphan	Tula	962	232	50
Eupatoria	Tavrida			60
Fatefeh	Kursk	1193	463	46
Fellin	Riga			241
Frederiksham	Vyburg	326	1056	186
Gadyatch	Tchernigoff	*	†	254
Galitch	Kostroma	919	396	117
Gdoff	St. Petersburg	216	871	
Georgiefsk	Caucasus	2528	1800	60
Glasoff	Viatka			214
Glink	Tchernigoff			210
Glukhoff	NovgorodSieverskoi	1280	550	
Goltva	Kief			283
Gordatoff	Nishnè-Novgorod			70
Gorodetz	Polotzk	698	553	144
Gorodischtsche	Penfa			42
Gorodnia	Tchernigoff			50
Gorokovetch	Vladimir	1039	332	157
Gradischtsche	Ekatarinossavl			136
Griafovetch	Vologda	709	384	42
Giaslk	Smolensk	581	160	222
Habsal	Reval	456	1126	95
Insara	Penfa	1290	560	89
Irbis	Perme	2683	1953	572
Irkutsk		5823	5093	
Ischim	Tobolsk	2935	2205	344

\* Viâ Mtzensk and Kursk

† Viâ Smolensk and Baturin

— —

— —

1450

720

1712

982

Ischiginsk

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterlb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
Ischiginisk	Irkutsk	10307	9577	4484
Isium	Kharkoff	1550	820	111
Kadnikoff	Vologda	695	468	42
Kadyi	Kostroma	950	427	147
Kaigorod	Viatka	1972	1242	246
Kainisk	Tobolsk	3788	3058	903
Kaliasin	Tver	734	294	168
Kalitva	Voronetch	1421	681	193
<i>Kaluga</i>		890	160	
Kamyschin	Saratoff	1806	1076	174
Kamyschloff	Perme			483
Kanadyei	Simbirsk	1537	797	131
Karatseff	Orel	1102	372	84
Kargopol	Olonetz	618	1078	342
Karlun	Simbirsk	1423	683	91
<i>Kasan</i>		1465	735	
Kaschin	Tver	716	312	150
Kasimoff	Riasane	1010	280	140
Kem	Olonetz	885	1479	455
Kerensk	Penza	1199	460	135
Kexholm	Viborg	146	876	130
<i>Kharkoff</i>		1421	680	
Kherson	Ekatarinossavl	*	†	290
Kholm	Pleskoff	336	592	268
Khopersk	Saratoff	1419	689	
Khorol	Kief			223
Khotmyshsk	Kharkoff	1455	725	71
Khvalynsk	Saratoff			197
<i>Kieff</i>		1582	852	
Kinburn fort	Tavrida	2091	1361	
Kineshma	Kostroma	885	347	83
Kirensk	Irkutsk	6768	6038	945
Kiriloff	Novgorod	590	495	580
Kirfanoff	Tamboff	1295	565	88
Kirshatsh	Vladimir	850	123	115
Kisliar	Caucasus	2642	1912	
Klimovitschi	Mohileff			128
Klin	Mosco	648	82	
Kniagin	Nishnè-Novgorod			96

\* *Via* Mtzensk, Kursk, and Kremenshuk —† *Via* Smolensk, Baturin, Polt. and Kremenshuk1003 1174  
2141 1411

Kola

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
Kola	Archangel	1379	2109	1021
Kolmogory	Archangel			
Kologriff	Kostroma	968	534	254
Kolomna	Mosco	830	100	
Kolyvan		5154	4424	
Konotop	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1345	615	115
Konstantinograd	Ekatarinoslavl	973	864	104
Kopyfs	Mohilef			49
Korop	Novgorod Sieverskoi			70
Korotoyak	Voronetch	1313	573	80
Korotscha	Kursk	1359	629	135
Kortscheva	Tver			82
Koschira	Tula	900	170	80
Koseletz	Kieff	1510	780	72
Koselsk	Kaluga	940	210	57
Kosloff	Tamboff	1155	425	72
Kostroma		802	280	
Kotelnitsch	Viatka	1811	1081	95
Kotiakoff	Simbirsck	1404	664	110
Kovroff	Vladimir	964	237	62
Krasnoborsck	Vologda	1100	1006	580
Krasnoy	Smolensk	823	430	46
Krasnoi-Kholm	Tver	586	326	161
Krasnoi-Yar	Astrakhan	2112	1382	30
Krasnoyarsck	Kolyvan	4839	4109	1981
Krasnokutsk	Kharkoff	1508	767	86
Krasnoslobodsk	Penfa	1564	834	173
Krasnoufimsk	Perme	2077	1347	188
Krestzi	Novgorod	279	451	93
Krolevetch	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1319	589	64
Kromy	Orel	1133	403	36
Kropivna	Tula	952	222	40
Kungur	Perme	2051	1323	91
Kupensk	Voronetch	1663	923	283
Kurgan	Tobolsk	2875	2145	414
Kurmysch	Simbirsck	1237	500	257
Kursk		1224	494	
Kusmodemyansk	Kasan	1294	564	181
Kusnetzck	Kolyvan	4737	4007	
Kusnetzck	Saratoff			197
Ladoga	St. Petersburg	150	744	
Laischeff	Kasan			51

Lalsk



Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
Lalsk	Vologda	1110	981	555
Lebedyan	Tamboff	1104	374	177
Lebedin	Kharkoff	1540	810	147
Levkopol	Tavrida			80
Lgoff	Kursk	1295	565	71
Lichvin	Kaluga	940	210	45
Lipetzsk	Tamboff	1162	432	149
Linbim	Yaroslavl	826	354	101
Liutzin	Polotzk	593	758	164
Livensk	Voronetch	1403	654	175
Livny	Orel	1090	360	128
Lochvitza	Tschernigoff	1462	732	210
Lodeinoë Pole	Olonetz	276	809	215
Lubney	Kieff	1505	775	190
Luch	Kostroma	913	347	129
Luga	St. Petersburg	135	614	
Lukoyanoff	Nishnè-Novgorod			158
Makarief	Nishnè-Novgorod			80
Makarief	Kostroma	98	474	195
Malmysh	Viatka			249
Maloarchangel	Orel	1143	413	70
Maloyaroslavl	Kaluga	847	113	52
Mamadysh	Kafan			146
Mariupol	Ekatarinoslavl			321
Medynsk	Kaluga	869	135	57
Melenki	Vladimir	1040	313	138
Melitopol	Tavrida			220
Menselinsk	Ufa	1769	1035	236
Meschtschovsk	Kaluga	980	250	69
Mesen	Archangel	1445	1575	511
Mglinsk	Novgorod Sieverskoi			141
Michailoff	Riazane	910	180	50
Mirgorod	Kieff	1784	1054	233
Miropolie	Kharkoff	1515	785	133
Mobileff		751	534	
Mokschan	Penfa	1368	638	37
Mologa	Yaroslavl	740	260	110
Morschanisk	Tamboff	1156	426	88
Mofalsk	Kaluga	940	210	77
Mofdok	Caucasus		243	34
Mofhaisk	Mosco	816	99	
MOSCO	Metropolis	728		

Mstislavl

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterfb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government town.
Mstislavl	Mohilef	914	501	94
Murom	Vladimir	1022	295	120
Myschkin	Yaroslavl	763	209	92
Mzensk	Orel	1044	314	53
Nakhitscheran	Ekatarinoslavl			
Nagaibak	Orenburg	1733	1003	540
Naroftschat	Penfa	1356	626	125
Narva	St. Petersburg	145	875	
Narym	Tobolsk	4644	3934	1759
Nedrigailof	Kharkoff	1574	844	195
Nerechta	Kostroma	846	236	43
Nertschinsk	Irkutsk	6784	6054	961
Neyshlott	Viburg	390	1120	250
Nevel	Polotzk	1338	618	99
Nieshin	Tschernigoff	1444	714	74
Nikitk	Mosco		31	
Nikolsk	Vologda	1164	1061	637
Nishnaia Dievitza	Voronetch	1284	544	57
Nishnè Kamtschatka	Irkutsk	11699	10969	5876
Nishnè Lomoff	Penfa	1339	609	96
Nishnè Novgorod		1120	390	
Nishneudinsk	Irkutsk	5348	4618	475
Nolin	Viatka			112
Novgorod		186	544	
Novgorod Sieverskoi		*	†	
Novomiesto	Novgorod Sieverskoi			144
Novomirgorod	Ekatarinoslavl			288
Novomolkofsk	Ekatarinoslavl			18
Novorshneff	Pleskoff	478	853	132
Novosil	Tula	1292	458	176
Oboian	Kursk	1283	553	59
Obvinsk	Perme			50
Odoyef	Tula	940	210	70
Okhansk	Perme			67
Okhotsk	Irkutsk	9259	8529	3436
Olekminsk	Irkutsk	7754	7024	1931
Olenk	Irkutsk	9309	8579	3496
Olonetz	Olonetz	280	874	150
Omsk	Tobolsk	3286	2556	693
* By Star. and Smolensk	—	1150	540	
† By Tula and Mosco	—	1328	598	

Onega

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
Onega	Archangel	900	1560	232
Opotscha	Pleskoff	491	727	137
Oranienbaum	St. Petersburg	40	768	
Oranienburg	Riazane	1093	363	170
<i>Orel</i>		1097	367	
Orenburg	Ufa	1984	1254	319
Orloff	Viatka	1663	933	51
Orscha	Mohileff	685	466	66
Osa	Perme	2020	1290	113
Oskol, old	Kursk	1309	579	130
Oskol, new	Kursk	1379	639	191
Ostaschkoff	Tver	426	347	183
Oster	Kieff	1532	802	89
Ostrogosk	Voronetch	1326	588	95
Ostroff	Pleskoff	425	800	56
Pavlograd	Ekatarinoslavl			202
Pavlofsk	Voronetch	1380	640	150
<i>Penfa</i>		1394	660	
Pereyaslavl	Kieff	1533	823	78
Perekop	Tavrida			140
Peremyschl	Kaluga	925	195	28
<i>Pereflavl Riaz.</i>		910	180	
Pereflavl Saliesk	Vladimir	750	125	120
Perevolotschna	Novgorod	2002	1272	50
Perevos	Nishnè Novgorod			90
<i>Perme</i>		1949	1219	
Pernau	Riga	479	1190	72
Petropavlofskoi	Irkutsk	10648	9918	4620
Petrozavodsk	Olonetz	430	1024	
Petrofsk	Yaroslavl	819	167	76
Petrofsk	Saratoff	1490	760	105
Petschory	Pleskoff		807	54
Phanagoria	Tavrida			240
Pinega	Archangel	1245	1288	210
Piriatin	Kieff	1480	750	161
Ples	Kostroma	856	295	54
<i>Pleskoff</i>		*	717	
Podol	Mosco	765	35	
Pogor	NovgorodSieveriskoi	1400	670	64
Pokroff	Vladimir	824	97	78
* By way of Narva	—	346		
By way of Luga	—	326		

Polotsk



Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
<i>Polotzk</i>		643	1373	
Poltava	Ekatarinoslavl	1535	805	171
Porkhof	Pleskoff	336	694	85
Porietschy	Smolensk	752	430	73
Pofchekonja	Yaroslavl	718	314	112
Potschinki	Nishnè Novgorod			212
Povienetz	Olonetz	595	1189	765
Priluky	Tschernigoff	1453	723	
Pronsk	Riazane	950	220	50
Pudash	Olonetz	516	996	240
Putevl	Kursk	1404	674	100
Refitza	Polotzk	619	784	190
<i>Reval</i>		340	1070	
Rialhsk	Riazane	1000	270	
<i>Riga</i>		552	1053	
Rogatshoff	Mohileff	1396	636	102
Romanoff	Yaroslavl	796	266	34
Romen	Tschernigoff	1412	682	194
Roshestvensk	St. Petersburg	79		
Roslavl	Smolensk	880	443	116
Rostoff	Yaroslavl	806	189	54
Rsheff	Tver	631	300	127
Rufa	Mosco	759	88	
Rybnoi	Yaroslavl	806	252	78
Rylsk	Kursk	1340	610	116
Sadonsk	Voronetch	1130	400	85
Samara	Simbirsk	1633	893	177
ST. PETERSBURG	<i>Residence</i>		728	
Saposhok	Riazane	1030	300	120
Saraisk	Riazane	860	130	56
Saransk	Penfa	1276	546	123
Sarapul	Viatka	1812	1082	380
<i>Saratoff</i>		1632	902	
Saschiversk	Irkutsk	9192	8462	3369
Schadrinsk	Perme	2488	1758	556
Schatzk	Tamboff	1090	360	157
Schenkursk	Archangel	800	848	388
Schefchkeyef	Penfa	1306	576	144
Schlusfelburg	St. Petersburg	60	790	
Schtschigry	Kursk	1290	478	50
Schuya	Vladimir	969	239	90
Sebesch	Polotzk	533	718	104
				Selenginsk

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
Selenginsk	Irkutsk	6226	5496	403
Semeonoff	Nishnè Novgorod			60
Semipalatisk	Kolyvan	2992	2262	
Semliansk	Voronetch	1204	464	40
Serdob	Saratoff			175
Serdobol	Viburg			238
Sergatsch	Nishnè Novgorod			138
Sergiefsk	Ufa			350
Serpeisk	Kaluga	980	250	82
Serpukhof	Mosco	818	88	
Sevastopol	Tavrida			
Shiganisk	Irkutsk	9125	8395	3302
Shildra	Kaluga	1054	320	156
Sienkof	Tschernigoff			286
Siennai	Mohilef			151
Sievsk	Orel	1242	512	145
<i>Simbirsk</i>		1485	745	
Simpheropol	Tavrida	2187	1459	
Singileyef	Simbirsk	1519	779	49
Skopin	Riazane	1026	296	88
Slaviansk	Ekatarinossavl	1440	710	200
Slobodskoy	Viatka	1740	1010	28
<i>Smolensk</i>		716	384	
Solgalitzkaia	Kostroma	799	502	223
Solikamsk	Perme	2227	1497	263
Solotonoscha	Kief			130
Solotschef	Kharkoff	1459	718	36
Solvytshchegodsk	Vologda	1086	988	560
Sophia	St. Petersburg	22	706	
Sofnitza	Novgorod Sieverskoi			
Spask	Kafan			134
Spask	Riazane	966	232	52
Spask	Tamboff	1300	570	207
Staraja Russa	Novgorod	306	664	120
Staritza	Tver	595	237	73
Staro Bykhoff	Mohilef	984	569	38
Starodub	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1083	480	81
Stavropol	Caucasus			
Stavropol	Simbirsk	1589	849	133
Sterlitamazk	Ufa			111
Strietenfk	Irkutsk	6866	6136	1043
Subtsoff	Tver	628	280	116

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Petersh.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government town.
Sudogda	Vladimir	939	212	37
Sudscha	Kursk	1315	585	91
Sumy	Kharkoff	1383	653	175
Surash	Polotzk	769	558	149
Surashsk	NovgorodSieverskoi			141
Surgut	Tobolsk	3610	2875	725
Sutdal	Vladimir	936	209	32
Svenigorod	Mosco	718	48	
Sviyabsk	Kasan	1445	715	30
Syfran	Simbirsk	1565	825	123
Sytshofka	Smolensk		219	227
Tagai	Simbirsk	1436	696	49
Taganrok	Ekatarinoslayl	2036	1306	460
Tamboff		1207	477	
Tara	Tobolsk	3445	2715	560
Tarufa	Kaluga	848	118	62
Temnikoff	Tamboff	1279	549	291
Tetyuschi	Kasan	1585	855	85
Theodosia	Tavrida			
Tichvin	Novgorod	243	744	210
Tim	Kursk	1243	513	64
Timmin	Tobolsk	2631	1901	254
Tobolsk		2885	2155	
Tomsk	Tobolsk	4309	3579	1424
Toropetz	Pleskoff	610	497	347
Torshok	Tver	503	227	63
Totma	Vologda	889	626	200
Troitzk	Penfa	1386	656	134
Troitzk	Ufa			462
Trubtshevsk	Orel	1166	436	169
Tschaufy	Mohilef			43
Tschebokfar	Kasan	1350	620	124
Tschelyabinsk	Ufa	2488	1758	400
Tschembar	Penfa			129
Tscherdyn	Perme	2321	1591	364
Tscherekoff	Mohilef			82
Tscherepovetch	Novgorod			476
Tscherkask	Ekatarinoslayl	1936	1208	
Tschernigoff		1124	676	
Tschern	Tula	970	240	
Tschernoi Yar	Saratoff	1972	1242	499
Tschistopoliye	Kasan			125

Tschuchloma



Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterfb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
Tschuchloma	Kostroma	920	473	167
Tschuguyef	Kharkoff	1414	684	34
<i>Tula</i>		912	182	
Turinisk	Tobolsk	2480	1750	405
Turuchansk	Tobolsk	6190	5460	3305
<i>Tver</i>		568	162	
Tzarevo Kokshaisk	Kasan	1354	624	126
Tzarevo Santschursk	Viatka	1414	684	253
Tzaritzin	Saratoff	1772	1042	355
Tzyvilsk	Kasan	1390	660	102
<i>Ufa</i>		1913	1183	
Uglitsch	Yaroslavl	734	180	101
Urshum	Viatka	1631	901	163
Usman	Tamboff	1226	496	158
Ustiugvelikoi	Vologda	1000	899	473
Ultioihna	Novgorod	450	368	357
Ustysolsk	Vologda	1400	1300	876
Valdai	Novgorod	338	392	152
Valk	Riga			149
Valki	Kharkoff	1466	725	53
Valniki	Voronetch	1376	630	208
Varnavin	Kostroma	1132	666	387
Vasil	Nishnè Novgorod	1255	525	144
Veissenstein	Reval			34
Velikiye Luki	Pleskoff	528	601	259
Velisk	Polotzk	809	598	189
Velsk	Vologda	870	706	280
Venden	Riga			100
Veneff	Tula	860	130	40
Verchnei Lomoff	Penfa	1339	609	106
Verkhoturiye	Perme	2503	1773	540
Verkhoudinsk	Irkutsk	6116	5388	295
Verkhouralsk	Ufa			309
Vereya	Mosco	831	98	
Verro	Riga			236
Vesenberg	Reval			80
Vesyegonsk	Tver	502	406	241
Vetluga	Kostroma	1084	619	339
Viasma	Smolensk	587	221	163
Viasniki	Vladimir	1022	295	120
<i>Viatka</i>		1815	1085	
Vilmanstrand	Vyburg	190	920	50

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterb.	Versts from Mosco.	Versts from government- town.
Vitebsk	Polotzk	729	518	109
Vladimir		902	175	
Volma	Riga		1171	103
Vologda		689	426	
Voloko Lamsk	Mosco	712	101	
Volsk	Saratoff			110
Volschanfk	Kharkoff			60
Voronetch		1220	490	
Voskresensk	Mosco		42	
Vyburg		140	870	
Vyschnei Volotschok	Tver	432	298	134
Vytegra	Olonetz	426	876	
Yadrin	Kafan	1250	520	186
Yakutsk	Irkutsk	8309	7579	2486
Yalutorofsk	Tobolsk	2715	1985	254
Yamburg	St. Petersburg	121	854	
Yaransk	Viatka	1706	972	202
Yarensk	Vologda	1721	1147	721
Yaroslavl		830	243	
Yegoriefsk	Riazane	814	80	95
Yelabuga	Viatka			373
Yelatma	Tamboff	1055	325	264
Yeletz	Orel	1094	364	183
Yelna	Smolensk		326	90
Yeneseisk	Tobolsk	5032	4300	2147
Yenotaiyefsk	Astrakhan	2084	1354	
Yephremoff	Tula	1024	294	112
Yuknoff	Smolensk		251	194
Yurieff Polskoi	Vladimir	820	90	50
Yuryevetz Povolskoi	Kostroma	974	347	172

END OF THE APPENDIX.